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UNIONISM AND POLITICS

SIAMSE TWINS.

Of this year's spring crop of municipal platforms there is none that can compare with the one adopted by the so-called Socialist party of St. Louis, Mo. The Chicago municipal platform of the same party is a curio; that party's Milwaukee productions in that line are poems issued from a tumbling clown's head. The St. Louis article, however, is in itself a whole collection of curios. It is a gem of gems, the best of the lot—in the sense that the best bull is the one that has come to a head. Nothing better than this St. Louis "Socialist" municipal platform could be wished to illustrate certain principles that have become cardinal in the political and trades union Movement of the American Working Class.

A superstition—started and watered, as all superstitions are, by the dupes in search of dupes—is still quite widely prevalent that politics have nothing to do with unionism. On a previous occasion, recently, we advanced the maxim that a bona fide party of Socialism is the focused rays radiated by a class-conscious or bona fide trades union Movement. The actual and intimate relations, implied in the maxim, as bound to exist between the political and the economic organization actually or supposedly of the Working Class, receive exceptional confirmation from the St. Louis production. The St. Louis production confirms the maxim by displaying the obverse, to wit, that the rays of a guild or capitalist form of unionism, if the thing can be really called unionism, will be found focused in the political organization that, on the political field, stands on the identical plane that the economic organization, from which it derives its soul, stands on the economic field.

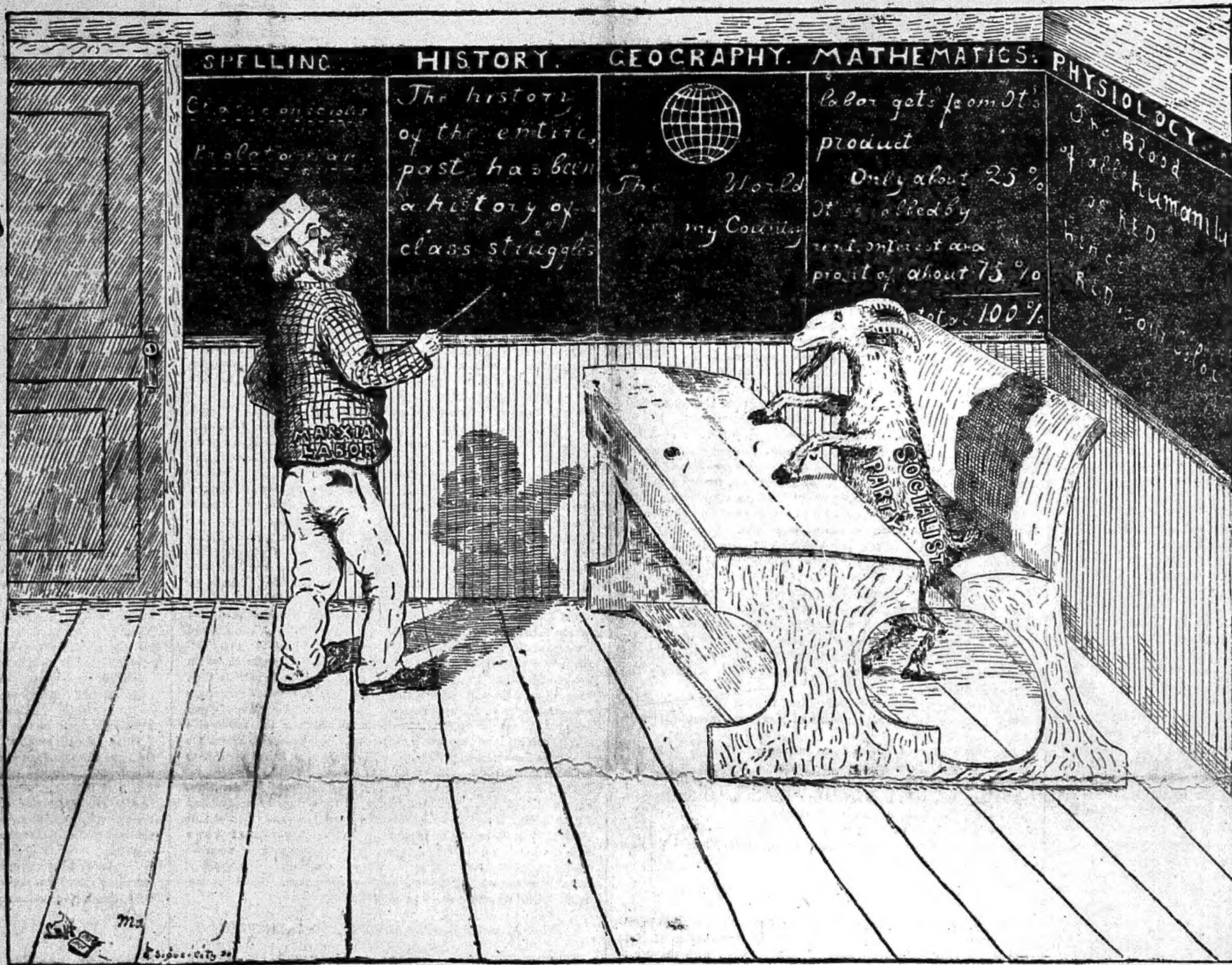
The maxim—a bona fide party of Socialism is the focused rays radiated by a class-conscious economic organization—points to a test that will unerringly reveal the nature of either an alleged economic or an alleged political organization of the Working Class. It is this: The Unionism behind and under a political party, said to be Socialist, can be accurately arrived at by the declarations and conduct of the said political body; and vice versa, the Socialism of the political party in front of and above an economic organization, said to be of the Working Class, can be accurately gauged by the principles and conduct of the said Union. Given the one, the other can be ascertained to a tittle.

If the test is correct, it will be found that a political party of Socialism that unerringly preaches the class struggle; that as unswervingly preaches the conclusion that flows from the principle of the class struggle, to wit, the solidarity of labor; that, being close to these lines, never indulges in bourgeois demands, but ever insists upon Working Class demands, exclusively, and unflinchingly combats all other demands and methods, whether the same be proposed openly by the bourgeois elements, or whether they be masked by the mask of "Unionism"—it will be found that such a party always has behind it and for its foundation an economic organization that recognizes the basic role of a caricature of capitalism; that preaches the principle of the solidarity of the Working Class, not as a false pretence under which to violate the principle itself by the untold chicaneries that keep down the membership and its class divided, but as a cardinal article of faith, by the plumb-line of which it rears its structure, and by the rule of which it guides its every act.—And, conversely, it will be found that the economic organization built on this plan, and steering its course by this compass, will ever have for its political expression, and be intimately related with, and closely preceded by a party of Socialism whose sword has but one edge for the capitalist in the field-marshal's tent of capitalism, and for his labor-leutnant in the guild counterespionage front.

On the other hand, it will be found, if the test is correct, that a political party which flies the colors of Socialism, but that, though mouthing some of the dogmas of Socialism, indulges in bourgeois demands and bourgeois methods, is intimately affiliated with and draws its sap from an economic system of organization that is but a caricature of capitalism; an economic organization, that, like capitalism, is reared on the principle of competition, and that, behind the mask of "Organized Labor" actually keeps the bulk of Labor disorganized and disgraces the word "Unionism", as

VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

From Jan. 21, 1905, Issue of the Faribault, Minn., "Referendum", Organ of the So-called Socialist, Alias "Public Ownership", Alias Social Democratic Party.



PEACE TO THEIR ASHES.

At the close of the bourgeois national convention in Chicago last May, and after the adoption by the American Bernsteins and Millerands, of the opportunist document, the then Iowa Socialist, Eric People, Florida Socialist, Seattle Socialist, Ohio Socialist, Grandeur Age, the Rocky Mountain Alliance, and a lot more 1x2 sheets "edited" (T) by the "intellectual" "Pie" counter jumpers, pulp pounders, pill buggers and "purfessors" of capitalist economics, shouted the death of the "impossibilists." "Peace to their Ashes," shouted these intellectuals, and agents of the middle class, for the "impossibilists" were the Marxian Socialists, the working class, or of the lower strata, illiterate "rabble" as "purfessors" Will, Mills, Krabbel, and Spargo termed us at the bourgeois convention.

But now "peace to their ashes", every one of these fake Socialist sheets, sleepeth the sleep which never awakeneth. Their "practical Socialism" killed them so dead that it took three undertakers, ten pulp pounders, fifteen "purfessors", ten intellectuals, and thirty-six revisionists on the national committee to revise a compromise document, as an epitaph to be placed on each of their monuments, to denote the "practicability" of their "Socialism".

Now comes the announcement in the last week's Appeal to Reason, the very dying "life" of revision, confusion, fusion, compromise, capitalist co-operative and medical fake associations, that that sheet may have to suspend, while the "purfessor" operating the "possible" Ethics

out at Wichita, Kan., issued its last "possible" last week as a "weakly" weekly.

"Peace to their ashes", for there are that many less fake sheets to go before the workers with false propaganda.

E. B. FORD.

THE SITUATION IN KANSAS.

Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 2.—War to death has been declared on the wage working element who aspires to control the Kansas "Socialist" party.

When the Socialist party was organized, it was composed principally of the flotsam and jetsam of every preceding Reform party. The movement was essentially agricultural and only one local was in the industrial regions. Middle class men hanging desperately on the fringe of the capitalist class formed the locals. The speakers were largely sentimentalists, and rehearsed the old Populist calamity-howl, calling it "Socialism." Their crass ignorance of economics was only equalled by their conceited answers to questions. Now in this pot-pourri of leaders were pulpiter-pulpiters, a political professor, a trance-medium, a "new thought" preacher, a rich politician, a money-loaner, and various other entrepreneurs. Their cry was the "farmer is the worst paid workman on earth," and would gladly change places with the farm laborer. They would point out that the railroads charged lower rates to large shippers and howled "Government ownership of railways" as a relief. They advocated a State-owned trolley line from east to west, to be built by the

convict labor of the State, and paid for by selling bonds.

But through all this freak literature there were a few books that contained the essence of Socialism; in the way they heard the yell "class struggle" and began to read sound literature. Here and there some speakers, a little better informed, paved the way for an improved system of agitation. The lashing of the S. L. P. speakers in the east echoed in Kansas. Free-lance agitators came through, and held meetings in spite of efforts on the part of the "intellectuals" to squelch them. A sentiment for correct reading matter was in this way created and scientific books became in demand. The rank and file in the industrial centers progressed; the riff-raff leaders, and "Appeal to Reasonites" in the country remained stagnant. They wouldn't read because they already had the wisdom of the movement bottled up in their craniums only to be dispensed at \$10 per speech and collections. The farming elements are blinded by their middle class interests and only want government relief from the extortion of railways. Besides, the only paper they read is the "Appeal to Reason," and that doesn't teach Socialism.

As the revolutionary instinct began to develop in the wage working element they saw the corruption in the "Socialist" party and tried to control and purify it. The leaders saw the power slipping from their grasp; a consultation was held. If a delegate convention was held the working class element might get control; the farmers locals could be

depended on to vote with the "Revision" and State-owned trolley line. But to come as delegates, ah! that's a horse of another color, that would cost money for railway fare and the rich men who are putting up the money to publish the wishy-washy sheet known as "Social Ethics," wouldn't pay for the delegates. Something was to be done. It was done. They deliberately violated the constitution; "what's a little thing like the constitution between friends" when such a graft as a State Secretaryship at \$40 per month, and the prestige that would come to the "real American Socialist college" was at stake? They called a mass convention and put thirty four delegates from Wichita to the twenty-six that came from the rest of the State. As one of the State officials naively put it: "Why didn't the Socialists from the rest of the State pay their own railway fare and come?"

The fun started, Local Kansas protested vigorously, but a referendum was suppressed. The vote was counted by them to carry all their points. Votes were thrown out on technicalities. A referendum demanded by nine locals in seven different counties was suppressed. The Revisionists have full control of the situation. Anarchy reigns in the "Socialist" party of Kansas, and some locals refuse to pay dues while they can run a ticket locally at will. The State is taking sides. On one hand is the working class element fighting for a revolutionary program. Then, on the other, the State leaders are yelling "Harmony!" "De Leonism!" and "outside meddlers!" A veritable chaos reigns,

but out of this seeming confusion of warring elements the revolutionary matter will gradually crystallize, eliminating all bond-issuing, State-owned trolleys, and intellectual grafters, molding a class conscious, militant party, understanding what they want and harmoniously working together for the overthrow of capitalism. Speed the day.

J. C. B.

A "MARXIAN" ARGUMENT.

[From the February issue of "The Voice of Labor" organ of the American Labor Union, and an organ of the so-called Socialist party.]

"Those men," says the Social Democratic Herald, "who are trying to start a new labor organization in opposition to the A. F. of L. are respectfully reminded that one Daniel De Leon has a left-over opposition organization that he will close out at a bargain, as he no longer knows what to do with it." This, we presume, is a conclusively Marxian argument against industrial unionism. Shorn of its heavy British wit, it means, that, because the S. T. & L. A. failed to make universal headway against the capitalist-owned A. F. of L., the working class must wait for economic unity on class lines until the pure and simple trades union Socialists shall have won their strike at the ballot box with the votes of craft-divided toilers who scab on one another 364 days out of the year. That happy consummation will have been reached when the dwellers on Mars begin to operate an interplanetary air-ship transportation department.

is secured. We ask you, therefore, to send on as early as possible whatever object you can for this purpose. Anything is acceptable, from a small pin cushion to a richly embroidered pillow, and from any other small article to an expensive piece of furniture.

The donations are to be sent to L. Abelson, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan, New York.

CONGRESSIONAL

THE PASSING OF THE RATE BILL BY THE HOUSE.

A Series of Allegations, Made During the Hurried Debate, that May Serve as Pointers for the Understanding of Events that May be at Hand—The Spectacle Presented by the Democratic Minority.

The leading event of the week in Congress was the passing of the Esch-Townsend Railroad-rate bill in the House of Representatives the substance of the bill is that the Interstate Commerce Commission is clothed with powers of regulation that it did not enjoy before, and the effect of it is a material infringement of the rights of the railroads to do with their own as they please. The bill takes from the railroads the absolute control they have hitherto exercised. Such are the facts and the theory regarding the bill. It was passed by the House under a rule that virtually excluded debate. The vote stood 326 to 17, the bulk of the Democrats joining a majority of the Republicans. The bill now goes to the Senate, where a debate is expected, and where many believe the bill will fail.

But although the debate in the House was virtually squelched, not a few of the statements made there that deserve "special mention."

From these statements it turns out that the original rate bill introduced by Representative Hepburn was drafted by Secretary Moody, while its successful substitute was inspired by the President himself. It turns out that the Esch-Townsend bill, though seemingly directed against the "railroad octopus" is a political scheme to put more power into the President's hands; the Interstate Commerce Commissioners, all appointees of the President, have the power to make rates, thus the Executive's hand is extended into all the nooks and corners of the land where there is a railroad line. It turns out that most of the complaints before the Interstate Commerce Commission have NOT BEEN THAT THE RATES ARE TOO HIGH, in other words, the complainants are the smaller lines whom His Holiness Competition by the bigger lines is making life a burden to, but who ever turn to their employees with the justification for lower wages that "supply and demand" establishes a just basis for wages. It turns out that the railroad rates have been going down for the last thirty years and are now lower than in many European countries. It turns out that the political effect of the bill will be still more completely wiped out state lines, and concentrate power at Washington. It turns out that holders of twelve billions of railroad securities are massed against the proposition, are preparing to block it in the Senate. It turns out that capital, about to be invested in opening new lines of railroad, and thus phian thropically furnishes work to the poor unemployed (who, by the way, these identical philanthropers only yesterday declared did not exist in the Labor Paradise of the United States). These were a few of the things that turned up and out during the hurried one-day debate in the House.

A feature of the affairs was the whoop from the Democratic side of the House. With the exception of Mr. Harrison of New York, McDermott of New Jersey, Rider of New York, S. der of New York, Goulden of New York and Shull of Pennsylvania—scented fire and did not care to run risk of burning their fingers, the Democratic delegation simply went into hysterics over the bill and the "glorious President" who inaugurated it. Whether these Democrats are long headed enough to perceive the possibilities of the Republican party's split in twain by Roosevelt on the railroad question, like the Democratic party was by Cleveland on the money question, or whether these Democrats are actually captured by the clap-trap of demagoguery, or whether, which is most likely, they desire to be or seem to be "on the winning side" after the series of crushing defeats that their party has experienced are matters that may be left for conjecture, while awaiting the action of the Senate.

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CALL FOR PRESENTS.

The Socialist Labor Party of Greater New York will celebrate this year the usual Spring Festival by holding an entertainment and ball at Grand Central Palace, on Sunday, March 19, 1905. As in the past, the Women's Auxiliary Branch of the Party will arrange for a Bazaar and Fair in conjunction with this entertainment and ball, for which we

need your hearty co-operation. Any object that will be donated by you will be sold and otherwise disposed of, the proceeds to go towards the Daily People.

Comrades, that the Daily and Weekly People are the most effective weapons with which we can smite the oppressors and misleaders of the working class, need not be here emphasized. All of you who are readers of either one or the

other understand this better than it can be told in writing. So understanding, it remains for you to aid our press to the highest extent of your ability.

Of the many ways of raising funds, the Bazaar and Fair, under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliary, is the most effective one. Here every little donation is profitably sold and disposed of, at times, double the market value

TRADES UNIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES

1742—1905

BULWARK OF CAPITALISM
OR FRAMEWORK OF SOCIALISM?

AN HISTORICAL GLIMPSE

BY JUSTUS EBERT, N. Y. CITY.

DEDICATION.

To thee old cause!
Thou peerless, passionate, good cause,
Thou stern, remorseless, sweet idea
Deathless through the ages, races, lands—
WALT WHITMAN.

FOREWORD.

The question of trades unionism is one of great importance. The organizations of men employed at trades figure largely in the economics and politics of the day. Their principles and control have become a matter of tremendous social significance. This applies not only to the present forms of society, but those of the future as well. Trades unions are either the bulwarks of capitalism or the rudimentary framework of Socialism.

A question so pregnant with significance is worthy of study. Emerson says: "Man is explicable by nothing else than all his history." So with trades unionism. The best study of trades unionism in the United States is all of its history. It will be the object of this paper to furnish a glimpse of this history in order that interest in the study of American trades unionism may be stimulated and the extent of its profundity realized. As the word implies, the glimpse will necessarily be brief, including in its sweep only typical instances of progress, both upward and downward.

THE BEGINNING.

Washington Irving, in his learned "Knickerbocker's History of New York" found it essential for his humorous purposes, to begin his narrative of this great metropolis, at the beginning of the world. It is not necessary for our purposes, which are far more serious, to begin this historical glimpse at so remote a period. As a consequence, lengthy disquisitions on primeval causes will be foregone, in order that a statement of facts may be presented without much ado.

The first strike in the United States occurred in 1742, when a number of journeymen bakers in N. Y. City refused to bake until they had received more wages. Though this required combined action, trades unionism may be said to have only begun to make history in this country in the early 70s of the last century. Then began the great organization of labor which has continued ever since, growing more extensive and portentous with each succeeding year, until now it shakes the entire nation from ocean to ocean with its reverberations, and holds out the promise of becoming a constructive force in the transition from the old order to the new.

The reason for the late growth of American trades unionism is not far to seek; nor is it complex and difficult of mastery. When the journeymen bakers of N. Y. City struck in 1742, the country was sparsely settled. A great continent had not been even fringed with population. Land abounded. Pioneering was the order of the day. There was comparatively little interstate commerce and communication. Most commodities were created and consumed in the homes of the people. The manufacture that existed in the cities and towns was mainly based on the division of manual labor, or handicraft, and required little capital for its pursuit, making it easy for journeymen to embark in self-sustaining enterprises. As a result of this condition there were no large industrial centers, with their few owners of highly concentrated capital, on one hand, and millions of propertyless workmen, on the other, engaged in an irrepressible conflict of interest. The Civil War, however, by destroying Chattel Slavery, gave great impetus to Capitalism, which, in turn, developed the conditions which make the modern labor organization the great social phenomenon it now is.

PRIMITIVE CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

Nevertheless, though it is a fact that American trades unionism did not begin its important career until after the Civil War, its history prior to that period cannot be neglected with impunity. Therein is shown how the great plant took root. Therein will be found the key to the understanding of its "un-American" aspirations.

Besides the strike of bakers already mentioned, history records a strike of shoemakers in Philadelphia in 1796. They went out again in 1798, and still again in 1799. In 1802 the sailors of New York City struck. In 1805, its shoemakers followed suit. In 1817 several ports could refer to a simultaneous strike of caulkers and shipwrights. But though these revolts were summarily suppressed as the work of unlawful combinations and conspiracies, they were all more or less spontaneous and sporadic in character, instead of the reflex of a strong tendency toward conscious and deliberate organization. This did not appear until 1825. In that year, according to Prof. Richard T. Ely's "The Labor Movement in America", the history of trades unionism in this country may be said to have made a beginning. As this date coincides with the rise of the great textile and other industries, it appears an appropriate one for such a beginning, in every respect.

What was the distinguishing characteristic of the year 1825? "About that time," says Prof. Ely, "a new spirit and a new purpose began to animate the laboring classes. They became more conscious of their existence as a distinct part of the community and with interests to an extent not identical with those of other social classes, and very naturally the idea of class action on a larger scale than heretofore became more familiar to workmen; and from that time forward this idea became more cherished among them."

To the social student, it is at once apparent that what gave the year 1825 distinction and marked it as the period in which to begin the history of the labor movement in this country, was its manifestations of the Socialist, or class, spirit. Trades unionism was for the first time animated with the idea that the interests of the working class are separate and distinct from other social classes, and that its organization must be perfected accordingly. This is an important fact, as it shows the "Socialistic tendencies"—"those foreign importations of recent date"—to be of sturdy old American origin!

EARLY POLITICAL ACTION.

Prof. Ely, still referring to the period now being described, says further:

"During this first period political action as an instrument of social amelioration is frequently urged, and we begin to hear of workmen's parties."

This is indeed remarkable, considering that it was only in 1822 that the workmen of New York secured the franchise. Prof. Ely, quoting Prof. Hosmer's "Samuel Adams", shows that almost a century before, the artisans and mechanics of Boston, were a bold and spirited body of men who exerted an influence in political affairs.

Political action led to the organization of a comparatively strong workmen's party in New York State and New England in 1830. In 1835, the Equal Rights party arose in this city. Sir Charles Lyell, the noted geologist, tells of a New England workmen's party in his book, "A Second Visit To The United States", which is replete with facts, impressions and opinions on the America of 1845. Sir Charles, describes the election in Boston. He tells how, mistaken for an elector, he was given the tickets of four parties. "The real struggle was between the Whigs and the Democrats", he writes, "the former of whom carried the day; but besides their tickets, two others were presented to me, one called the Native American, and the other, the Workmen's ticket. The latter had for its emblem a naked arm, wielding a hammer, and for its motto 'The strong right arm of labor.' The five Senators proposed in this list consisted of two printers, a carpenter, a blacksmith and a surveyor, and among the representatives were four shoemakers, one tailor, eight carpenters, four printers, an engineer, etc." This will enable us to form an idea of the composition of the workmen's political parties of that day.

The class spirit of early trades unionism was not confined to trade organization and political action. It also found vent in the furtherance and support of communistic and Socialistic enterprises of a Utopian character. The theories of Owen, Fourier and Brisbane were a part of American trades unionism from the very beginning.

MODERN SOCIALISM FORESHADOWED.

In order to appreciate the spirit of early trades unionism, a few illustrations cited by Prof. Ely, may be used. He mentions that already in 1830, "Young America", a labor paper that grew out of "The Workmen's Advocate", the first labor paper in this country, advocated, among other radical measures, "Abolition of chattel slavery, and of wages slavery". He also refers to the noteworthy address of Ely Moore, President of "The General Trades Union of New York", the first central labor union in the country, delivered in 1833. Moore states the objects of "The General Trades Union of New York" to be "to guard against the encroachment of aristocracy, to preserve our natural and political rights, to elevate our moral and intellectual condition, to promote our pecuniary interests, to narrow the line of distinction between the journeyman and the employer, to establish the honor and safety of our respective vocations upon a more secure and permanent basis, and to alleviate the distresses of those suffering from want of employment." Prof. Ely informs his readers that two or three years after the delivery of this address there was enough class feeling in New York to enable Moore to secure an election to Congress as a representative of the working class.

More remarkable than the spoken address of Moore is the printed address of Stephen Simpson, published in the city of Philadelphia in 1831. In it "the working class", to quote Prof. Ely, "are told that the old political parties offer them no hope of satisfactory reforms, and they are urged to support the 'Party of The Workingmen', which, 'resisting the seductions of fanatics on one hand and demagogues on the other', presses forward in 'the path of science and justice, under the banner of labor, the source of wealth, and industry the arbiter of its distribution.'" This is a truly Socialist declaration!

A more striking Socialist declaration is that of Thomas Skidmore, a labor candidate for Governor of New York State, uttered in 1829. Says Skidmore:

"Inasmuch as great wealth is an instrument which is uniformly used to extort from others their property, it ought to be taken away from its possessors, on the same principle that a sword or a pistol may be wrested from a robber, who shall undertake to accomplish the same effect in a different manner."

This is the Marxian doctrine of the expropriation of the expropriators foreshadowed on American soil two decades before its first European enunciation.

PROGRESS ACHIEVED—CONDITIONS COMBATTED.

Prof. Ely shows that, animated by this Socialist spirit, the American workmen proceeded to form local unions. Then unions of various crafts joined hands for common action. Next, with the development of transportation and communication and the expansion of industry, national unions were slowly evolved. Twenty-six national trades unions, animated by working class spirit and interests, were, according to Ely, in existence at the outbreak of the Civil War! These unions fought for the right to combine, for monthly and weekly pay-days, for better wages and conditions, and for the 10-hour-day. The latter was their main immediate goal. They had to encounter many hardships. Fines and imprisonments for alleged violations of conspiracy laws, were among them. So were the decennial crises, which beginning with 1826, continued on to 1837, '47, and '57, inflicting great misery and suffering. Owing to their lack of class perception, due to the undeveloped nature of industry and the utopian character of their Socialism, the workmen's parties either expired or were absorbed by the Democratic party. One of the greatest strikes of the early trades unions was in 1845. 4,000 Pittsburgh molders then struck for shorter hours. Strikes, however, were not numerous or extensive, when compared to modern times. A bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, records 13 strikes throughout the country in 1853, and an equal number in 1854. Making liberal allowance for all statistical shortcomings, the pre-Civil War strikes are few indeed.

Despite their numerous vicissitudes and mistakes, the early American trades unions, true to the characteristics of all trades unions, upon the return of comparatively better conditions, reorganized and resumed their onward march.

THE CIVIL WAR AND TRADES UNIONISM.

The Civil War checked the growth of trades unionism. It was natural that the great conflict over the slavery question should engage working class time and attention. Did not one of its organs, 30 years prior to that great event, demand the "abolition of chattel slavery, and of wages slavery"? After the Civil War, however, the class spirit began to reassert itself and trades unionism flourished once more. The first distinctive manifestation was, logically, toward international unionism. This is attributed to the introduction of the doctrines of the International Workmen's Association, which had branches in this country. Socialist immigration also contributed toward the creation of this condition of affairs. But the greatest achievement of the latter half of the decade under observation, was the founding of the Knights of Labor. The modern labor movement may be said to begin with the Knights of Labor. It was an epoch-making organization.

Though internationalism had been injected into the American trades union movement, national improvements were seriously needed. It had become evident that closer interrelations and more sympathetic action for the advancement of their common interests, was necessary among the various trades. The weak position of unions composed of mechanics of one trade was recognized, as was also the value of a union of all trades. It was from this condition of affairs, aided by the impetus given to capitalist development by the abolition of chattel slavery, that the Knights of Labor sprang.

THE EPOCH-MAKING K. OF L.

The Knights of Labor was founded in Philadelphia, Pa., 1869,

by Uriah Stevens, a tailor, who is said to have been influenced in his work by "The Communist Manifesto" of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The Knights of Labor was a secret organization, composed of local assemblies, controlled by a general assembly and a master workman. The Knights of Labor sought to unite every branch of skilled and unskilled labor. To this end, centralization of power was deemed indispensable and essential. The Knights of Labor motto was "An injury to one is the concern of all"; its method the sympathetic strike and boycott by all for one and one for all.

While the Knights of Labor believed in arbitration "for the purpose of strengthening the bond of sympathy between employer and employee", to quote its declaration of principles, it did not express a belief in their mutual interests. In fact, the Knights of Labor's recognition of the interdependence of all branches of labor, backed by the sympathetic strike, made it very Socialistic. This fact is further emphasized by its declaration in favor of the public ownership of telephones, telegraphs and railroads, and its faith in co-operation as a means "to supersede the wage system."

Like its predecessors of old, the Knights of Labor believed in having working class politics in the union and the union in working class politics. Its activity in this direction contributed to the promotion of working class politics in the 70s and 80s of the last century. Many of its members were elected to office in Connecticut and other states, during this period. In brief, it may be said that the Knights of Labor was thoroughly in accord with the historical class spirit of American trades unionism—a logical evolution, carrying the working class movement forward on the more extensive and higher plane demanded by industrial development.

THE K. OF L. WORKING CLASS 8-HOUR DAY.

Especially was this the case in the fight for the eight-hour-day which it inaugurated. The pioneer unions fought for the twelve and the ten-hour-day. The K. of L. took up the battle where they had stopped, and declared its object to be "to shorten the hours of labor by a GENERAL REFUSAL to work more than eight hours."

The K. of L. eight-hour agitation was strictly a working class agitation. The K. of L. argued that "a general refusal to work more than eight hours" would mean a general reduction of the hours of labor, which, in turn, would make the employment of more men generally necessary. With more men employed, successful strikes for better conditions would be more possible and numerous.

The Knights of Labor eight-hour-day agitation reached its climax on May 1, 1886. On that day "general refusals to work more than eight hours", took place in the principal industrial cities of the country. One of the latter was Chicago. There, the men employed in the McCormack machine works, struck. They were brutally clubbed by the police. At a protest meeting held later in Haymarket Square, several policemen were killed by a bomb thrown by some unknown person or persons. As a result of this bomb-throwing occurred the infamous Chicago "anarchist" hangings. This entire incident had a bad effect on the eight hour movement. The intense feeling that followed proved detrimental to victory. Despite this, however, some of the exceptional trades, achieved the eight-hour-day, thanks to the working class agitation of the Knights of Labor.

The Knights of Labor was an effective boycotter. Its members bound by the principle "An injury to one is the concern of all", and aided by competition, religiously and successfully tabooed all firms opposed to its demands. One of the most famous boycotts in which it was engaged, was that on the Theis Music Hall in New York City. This boycott, bitterly contested and long fought, resulted in arrests and convictions of the representatives of the working class engaged therein. These so aroused the labor world, that the memorable George campaign of 1886 was precipitated. This campaign raised the spectre of Socialism in the politics of Capitalism as it had never been raised before in this country.

The Knights of Labor was bitterly opposed by press, church, law, state and capitalist class. Its secrecy, in those days of undeveloped Pinkertonism, coupled with centralized control and sympathetic strikes, made it feared by them all. The church denounced it as a secret order detrimental to religion. The press expatiated upon its "fostering of class antagonism". The law and state were appealed to, to puncture its boycotts and suppress its strikes. While the capitalist class bespoke "the lead diet" for it.

THE A. F. OF L.—ITS ADVENT AND PRINCIPLES.

In the heyday of its power, which was in and about the year 1886, the Knights of Labor was said to number 1,000,000 strong. It was just about this time—or to be exact, in 1881—that "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions" was launched in Pittsburgh, Pa. A contributor to the Weekly People, some years ago, claimed that "The Federation" was formed by Samuel Gompers, at the instigation and under the patronage of Andrew Carnegie, who was then, as now, "a friend of labor", only then he did not have the blood of the workmen of Homestead on his hands. Considered the place of the Federation's launching and the present relations of Gompers and Carnegie, this claim seems well founded.

The reasons given for the formation of "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions" mainly revolved around the secret and centralized character of the Knights of Labor. It was claimed by the Federationists that this was detrimental to the interests of the working class. It was further asserted that in order for working class organizations to attain greater numbers and success, open and autonomous unions, bound together in a federation, were imperative.

The Federation was purely English in conception and principle. It was modeled on the Trades Union Congress of England. Like that Trades Union Congress it held that the interests of capital and labor are mutual. Despite the "Socialistic" declarations in its platform, this is the Federation's leading tenet to-day, as much to the sorrow of a great portion of the capitalist, as well as the working class, as we shall see as we proceed.

The advent of "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Union" caused a contest for supremacy to arise between it and the Knights of Labor. This contest, on the part of the Federation, was, at first, an educational one; later, one of counter organization and scabbing. Meetings were held at which the shortcomings of the Knights of Labor were criticized and condemned, and unions formed of converts and recruits. With strength came the formation of opposing organizations, and a campaign of scabbing against the K. of L. assemblies. The N. Y. City cigar, tailoring, brewing, and other industries are rich in material for a history of the disintegration of the K. of L. and the foundation of the A. F. of L., by this dual method. The Knights of Labor was practically exterminated. Though still alive it exists as a shadow of its former robust self.

This course on the part of The Federation was to be expected. The principle of autonomy, combined with the principle of the mutual interests of capital and labor, in opposition to the principle of centralized, united action in the interests of the workers, is a disintegrating principle. It makes the interests of one craft superior to all others; and by so doing, promotes the interests of employers more than employees. The growth of the A. F. of L. may be cited by some in refutation to this statement. This growth will be analyzed latter on.

LEGISLATION VIA THE INFLUENCE OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

The Federation, in destroying the Knights of Labor, not only overthrew secrecy and centralization, but it also opposed the policy of organizing independent workmen's parties. It yielded to the seductions of demagogues and threw overboard the dictum of Stephen Simpson that there was no hope of satisfactory reforms from the old parties. The Federation inaugurated instead the policy of securing

legislation through the influence of organized labor. By petition, by committee, by lobby, but never by independent political action, must labor secure political measures. Labor may organize to secure for itself what it wants on the economic field, but it must get what it wants on the political field through others!

The Federation's policy of political begging has been barren of results, as far as labor is concerned. The anti-injunction bill of the Federation—a bill to prevent the issuance of restraining orders or injunctions during strikes—was only recently killed by the House Committee on the Judiciary. Its Chinese Exclusion bill was so amended as to prove a victory for its opponents. For eight or nine years, the Federation has vainly tried to secure the passage of an eight-hour bill for men employed on government contracts. At this rate of progress, success seems a dream. The Federation has secured the passage of many labor laws, but they are dead letters, never enforced, as witness the violations of the New York State Child Labor Law. Lastly, "the political influence of organized labor" avails naught in governmental "open shop" controversies, as the Miller episode, and the re-election of President Roosevelt, the champion of the "open shop", proves.

But this policy of political begging is beneficial to the labor leaders and the capitalist class. It enables the labor leaders to secure big salaries as labor lobbyists, and establishes a lobby that is useful in aiding the promotion of legislation beneficial to capitalist interests. Witness the aid rendered by the Federationists in establishing the Department of Commerce and Labor. Samuel Gompers was slated for Secretary of this department, but the plum fell to an out-and-out capitalist, with no labor pretensions, This department is so little devoted to labor that the N. Y. "Sun" advocates the lopping off of the two last words of its title. Witness also, how this policy keeps the capitalists in control of the government, so that when the members of the Federation go out on strike they are promptly clubbed by the policemen or shot by the militiamen whom they voted into the control of the capitalist class.

This policy of political influencing, as shown in Prof. Ely's quotation from Prof. Hosmer, was a good one in the beginning of the eighteenth century; but, in this, the twentieth century, it is a reactionary, illogical, corrupt and cowardly policy, which robs labor of political independence and contributes to its economic degradation, while promoting the interests of the capitalist class.

THE CAUSE OF A. F. OF L. RETROGRESSION.

The social influences which caused the radical departure of the Federation from the historic economic and political tendencies of the American labor movement, were far reaching. They began with the discovery of the California gold fields, followed by the opening of the great West at the close of the Civil War. These served to attract Eastern workmen to the Pacific Coast, and labor immigration from Europe, mainly Great Britain, to the Eastern States. The workmen from the latter country made themselves felt in the American labor movement. As the Dutchmen who lived all their lives along side of canals, built one across Canal street, Manhattan, on their arrival here, convinced that existence was impossible without it, so with these English workmen: accustomed to capitalist principles and political begging as a basis of trades unionism at home, they believed them essential to working class existence abroad. Owing to the migration Westward, and the aid of capitalist magnates, they gradually gained ascendancy and victory! It is no accident that such prominent names connected with the A. F. of L., as Gompers, Carnegie, Arthur, King, etc., are English in birth or antecedents. And it is also no accident that the old American trades union spirit is now strongest in the West!

There is still another respect in which the Federation departs from the historical spirit of American trades unionism. The Federation is the notorious opponent of any movement that, in the language of the Knights of Labor, "aims to supersede the wage system". The Federation opposes Socialism, whether Utopian or scientific. The Federation misrepresents and maligns the great international Socialist movement, besides which, its achievements are the achievements of a pigmy compared to an all-pervading power. In brief, the Federation, opposes working class interests in any other movement than its pro-capitalist brand of unionism, and thereby holds the working class nose down to the capitalist grindstone.

THE INTENSIFICATION OF LABOR.

The Federation holds the same non-historical and non-working class attitude in its eight-hour agitation. The old Knights of Labor argued that the eight-hour-day, reduced the unemployed and improved the possibilities of winning strikes and improving conditions. It was a working class argument. The Federation argues that an eight-hour-day affords greater rest and recreation, thereby enabling the worker to produce as much, if not more, than in a day of ten hours. Samuel Gompers points to the fact that as hours go down exports go up. It is also a fact that the death rate among the working class goes up as hours come down; while, as the death rate goes up, the age limit comes down. The census figures show the death rate of males employed in all occupations to have increased from 13.8 per cent. in 1890 to 15.0 per cent. in 1900. The discussion on the age limit shows that men over 35 years find it difficult to secure employment, while men of fifty are being weeded out. The Federation's eight-hour argument is a capitalist one, helping along the intensification of labor which is so marked a characteristic of this economic age. The capitalists have not generally accepted it, as they find the principle underlying it can be (thanks to the Federation's autonomous principles and the unemployed), applied to a nine or a ten-hour-day as well.

(To be concluded next week.)

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The Revolutionary Movement in Russia

(Translated from the German for the Weekly People by Gotthold Ollendorff.)

Professor Michael de Reussner, the Russian savant, who, in the court at Konigsberg, made sensational statements regarding Russian conditions, has given expression to his views concerning the events in progress at Russia at the present time.

Michael de Reussner comes from an old Russian bureaucratic family. His father was an officer of the lancers of the guard. He, himself, for the last five years, has been professor of law at the University of Tomsk, and for a time also dean of the faculty of law.

Questioned as to his opinion regarding an approaching revolution in Russia, Professor de Reussner replied: "If the Czar does not resolve to bring about the reforms demanded by the times, if before all things he does not grant a constitution and thus accords the Russian people the minimum of those rights possessed by the rest of the European peoples, and even by the Japanese, A REVOLUTION IS UNAVOIDABLE."

Further questioned as to the elements liable to bring about this revolution—such a "tiers-état" as that, whose efforts towards emancipation brought about in France the revolution of 1789, apparently not being in existence in Russia—the Professor explained as follows:

"A class analogous to the 'tiers-état' we also have in Russia and from it proceeds the mighty movement, which agitates the whole of Russia. Only this class is not the third, but really the first, as it comprises all, in the possession of education and money: doctors, lawyers, authors, artists as well as merchants, and landed proprietors, intelligent officials and military officers. Certainly that opposition of interests between citizenry and nobility, forming one of the basic motives of the French revolution, is out of the question with us. The class of which I speak is not of a purely bourgeois kind, such as was the 'tiers-état' of France, but is equally composed of nobility and bourgeoisie and thus it happens—to the particular aston-

ishment of foreigners—that the old names of the Russian aristocracy now appear amongst the names of the fighters for right and liberty, that Russian princes appear as leaders of the opposition.

"The class exclusiveness of our nobility, has already ceased to exist since the eighteenth century, when Czarism vanquished the last resistance of the aristocracy and totally subjugated the latter to its will. Since then the barriers surrounding nobility, have fallen and entrance to it was opened for deserving civil and military officers, even for priests and other prominent personalities from the different classes. Certain decorations conferred nobility and to these decorations every official, after a stated time of service, possessed a legal right. Thus nobility as an exclusive class does not exist in Russia. Nobility and bourgeoisie jointly form first class in the State; their industrial, economical, political interests are the same and thus now both alike are affected by the opposition movement. This entire first class of Russia at present is of a revolutionary mind.

"We Russians, by nature, surely are not revolutionists. We are stolid, far too stolid, and it truly is a miracle that it has come to pass that the flames of revolution burn bright throughout the whole land. The war has accomplished this wonder. All classes of the people are most deeply hurt by the war. The cities as well as the country are injured alike. The Russian landed proprietor ever was the furthest removed from progressive ideas. He spent his life in ease upon his estate, not caring to be bothered by politics. Now, war has disturbed his tranquil state. Mobilization takes his laborers away and wages rise rapidly. He cannot ship his products any more by rail, as the trains are at the disposition of the military. An ominous discontent reigns among the farmers, menacing the life and the possession of the landlord. Furthermore, Russian agriculture complains that its interests have been sacrificed in the new commercial treaty with Germany, in exchange for the latter country's

amicable neutrality. For these and similar reasons the unheard-of has happened, that also the Russian landed proprietor whom one should not picture to himself something like an East-Elbian landed nobleman, but as an agricultural capitalist, who before all things does not want to be disturbed in his business transactions—has been driven into the opposition.

"The same as agriculture, industry suffers by this want of labor. And industry in Russia after its magnificent development during the last few decades, has become a power. Furthermore, everybody participating in Russia's economic life, apprehends that the gold standard has only been artificially upheld by foreign loans and fears what will happen now, as the money raised by these loans is used for the requirements of the war. One foresees a time of scarcity of money.

"Fearful are the effects of the war upon family life. Until now mostly farmers and workmen have been compelled to be the victims, but now mobilization reaches more and more into the 'upper ten thousand.' The officers of the reserve are called in, thousands of families must give up their sons, money and high position does not protect them any more. But he who goes to Asia, bids farewell to earthly life, for no one in Russia doubts but that, what is in progress there is not war, but butchery. Thus the whole of Russia is filled with hatred against this war and the conditions responsible for the same. And the intellectuals, who, for tens of years, have been laboring for the political emancipation of Russia, now all at once are reinforced by a strong opposition party, reaching from the top of society down to the workmen and to the farmers. The workmen form the 'corps d'élite' and it is not impossible that it will be their lot to decide the combat. In the great cities, in Petersburg, in Moscow, in the factory districts surrounding Moscow, industrial development has united them in imposing masses. They are splendidly organized and obey their leaders. Until now these leaders have ordered an ob-

serving attitude as the workmen do not want to waste their strength.

"Even the farmers commence to move. Naturally these poor fellows, brought up in ignorance, hardly possess any insight into that which happens, for which very reason an eventual uprising on their part would be the more dangerous. In the meantime, as already mentioned, there are signs of discontent, caused among the farming population by the mobilization. The columns of the Russian papers are largely filled at present by letters of farmers from the interior districts of Russia, depicting in touching language the misery created in the villages by the mobilization.

"In the efforts towards a common end, in the battle for a constitution all other Party differences have receded. Only lately the Party, represented by the moderately-constitutional, in Paris appearing paper 'Oswoboshdenje,' has united with the Terrorists, who again on their part have federated with the political as well as with the national, Armenian, Finnish, and other terrorists. Terrorism is well organized, the Party of the 'Oswoboshdenje' has at its disposition more money than any other Party and thus results from this union should soon become perceptible. The most remarkable effect the present movement has had upon the Russian press. The papers of all the different parties have entered into a coalition. All the papers, the semi-official 'Nowoje Wremja,' as well as the old slavie 'Russ' and the extreme radical papers are unanimous in their demand for a constitution. All the Petersburg editorial officers are in constant communication with each other and mighty telephonic agreements as to the common attitude in regard to the most important events of the day, are made. Wealthy people in private life largely subsidize the press in its struggle for a constitution. New papers appear and speak in no uncertain tone. In rapid succession they receive a first, second, third warning and are then entirely suppressed. But even if they only exist for ten days, they have found time to say, what is in everybody's heart and they are then in hundreds of thou-

sands of copies as pamphlets spread over the whole of Russia.

"Another means of propaganda are the banquets. All over Russia, as far as to Siberia, the banquet movement, one of the most interesting peculiarities of the opposition agitation in Russia, extends. In the cities, mainly by the members of the professions, by the physicians, by the lawyers, etc., banquets are arranged, which are participated in, by the notables of the respective towns. In speeches and by resolutions a constitution is demanded. The papers are forbidden to publish these resolutions but as certain banquets have become particularly famous, the press circumvents this prohibition, by simply adding to the report of each new banquet, that the same resolution has been adopted.

"That the Zemstvos have become organs of the political opposition is known. The government, by intimidation, has succeeded to induce in isolated cases, presidents of Zemstvos to forbid political speeches and the passage of political resolutions. Most Zemstvos, in answer to the attitude of their respective presidents, have resigned as bodies. At the same time, the members of the Uprawas, the county committees, upon whom rests a great deal of the local administration, have ceased their activity, so that in the respective districts the entire administrative machine has become embarrassed. Also the Zemstvos whose president lately was sharply reproved by the Czar on account of a petition submitted to the same, has answered this imperial reprimand with a strike.

"These are the main facts, in which at present the revolutionary sentiment expresses itself. It is still time to prevent the worst. If the Czar grants the constitution, which the people demand, the menacing floods will be dammed in the movement will lead into a path of peaceful development. But if, as stated before, a constitution is not granted, REVOLUTION IS HARDLY AVOIDABLE. The leaders, if such a revolution should occur, will surely exert themselves to the utmost, to prevent all barbarities."

On the Study of History

It is a matter of much regret on my part that I cannot keep the promise made some weeks ago to conduct a more or less extensive course of study in history. This promise is now, however, to be in part redeemed. The titles mentioned below will cover the whole period of European History, and in next week's issue a similar list of books on American History will be given. Those interested should commence study at once.

The more condensed works (one each on ancient and modern history, and one on Medieval and Modern European History), should be carefully studied. It will not suffice to secure these works from a library for a few days. They should be purchased. A small collection of good books should be the property of every Socialist. The more complete works, to be used for collateral reading, may be drawn from a library as occasion demands. First, carefully read a chapter or two in the manual; then, after covering the account of the same events in the larger work, re-read the short account as a review.

I might here interject a few words on the present state of historical writing in the European and American Universities. The point of view is just now undergoing transition. The new school of writers, who find in the economic life of society the basis of all human history, is now quite predominant in France, Germany and Italy. In fact, on the Continent few of the older school, who see in political events and constitutional development the primal subject-matter of history, now remain. In England the writing of history lags far behind in this respect.

In the United States we are in the midst of a most interesting conflict of methods. During the past eight years a great change has taken place. Our most noted advocate, among historians, of the economic interpretation of history, is Professor Turner, of the University of Wisconsin. I remember being present, some three years ago, at an historical conference which he conducted. At that time he was yet unwilling to accept the new method. This suggests how rapidly the transition is being made. Books like Seligman's Economic Interpretation of History, and Cheyney's new History of England, show which way the wind is blowing. As the United States follows Germany

and France in such matters, the chances are that soon nothing will be heard of the older school of historical writers. Of course the acceptance of the scientific standpoint and scientific methods in the study of history does not mean, necessarily, any particular interest in the present class struggle.

As regards standpoint, some of the books mentioned below may be unsatisfactory. Students should develop the critical spirit. Take the facts and interpret them in your own way. In many cases, if you have a good grasp of the Marxian method, the construction you place upon the facts may differ materially from that of the author.

Do not neglect to purchase the three general texts. Have the bookdealer order them if they are not in stock. If they cannot be otherwise obtained, the Labor News Co. will undoubtedly be willing to secure them for you. If the other books mentioned cannot be obtained at your public library, consult the lists appended to the chapters of those you purchase. Perhaps others may be obtainable.

These suggestions will apply, in large part, to the other fields of work later to be outlined.

Greece.—Use Botsford's History of Greece as a basis. For collateral reading secure, if possible, Holm's great work. Holm deals interestingly with economic facts and general social development. Do not try to read all of these volumes, but do not fail to read the chapters on "The Age of Pericles." Holm gives a fine picture of the whole fabric of Greek civilization at its height. (There is a condensed edition of Holm in one volume, but this is not so good as Botsford.) If you have considerable time to give to this field, read a translation of Aristotle's Politics, the most notable product of the Greek mind in the realm of social philosophy, and one of the greatest works of all time.

Rome.—General Text, Botsford's History of Rome. For collateral reading, Mommsen's Rome. Be sure in using Mommsen to give careful attention to bk. V, ch. XI, on "The Old Republic and the New Monarchy." Mommsen here describes the social life and institutions obtaining during the transition period which culminated in the downfall of the Republic in the time of Caesar.

Medieval Europe.—General account, James Harvey Robinson's Western Eu-

rope. If your library has failed to secure Robinson's two volumes of carefully selected source materials, try to have them gotten. A "source-book" is a collection of laws and other documents, important letters, diaries, etc., written during some period of history, and therefore illustrative of that period. It is from such "original sources" that historians are supposed to derive the knowledge embodied in their accounts. It will enliven the study of history on the part of even the most general students. So secure such "sources" as the library may have and look through them.

In the study of Medieval European History, each student should aim to understand the Feudal "System" and the Feudal "Regime" to which this economic system gave rise. Robinson's account of Feudalism is the best short discussion, in English, of which I know. When we come to the matter of collateral reading on Medieval Europe, it is to be regretted that there is no work in English which can compare in quality with those suggested for the Grecian and Roman periods. Much good work in this period has lately been done by a school of brilliant French writers. None of their books, however, have yet been translated in full. Fortunately, a start has been made. Just from the press is a work by Professors Munro and Selery, of the University of Wisconsin. It contains translations of the most valuable chapters in the works of Seignobos, Esmein, Bloch, Laviisse, Luchaire, Lamprecht, etc., so arranged as to form a connected whole. As the book is small it would be well to purchase it. To those who would read French or German, the use of the original works is advised. The title of the translation is "Medieval Civilization." As pleasant collateral reading in medieval history and also the modern history of Europe, the historic novels of Eugene Sue, now being published by The People can be strongly recommended.

Modern Europe.—Continue to read Robinson's Western Europe, which carries the narrative down to our own time. In this field there is such a bewildering mass of general works, many of which are fair, that choice of collateral reading becomes difficult. The Socialist should not fail to read Thorold Rogers' History of Wages and Prices in England. Rogers has a six volume work of statistics bearing upon this subject.

Be sure to look it up; but read the one volume narrative in which he has embodied the results of his work in statistics. This book is one of the most important mentioned in this list. It will prove to be a storehouse of facts for Socialist speakers. If access to a large library is possible, look into Cunningham's History of English Industry and Commerce. On the Renaissance and Reformation periods there is no good work in English. The best you can do is to read some of the chapters in the Cambridge Modern History, vols. I. and II. This work, to include twelve volumes when complete, is written by many authors, working in co-operation. Do not fail to read, in vol. I, Cunningham's chapter on the economic development of Europe which caused the transition from Medieval to Modern Europe; nor Henry C. Lea's chapter in the same volume on the breakdown of the Catholic Church. Lea is the most noted American historian. If deep interest in the Renaissance is taken, read Burk-

D. A. 4, S. T. & L. A.

Regular meeting of D. A. 4, Newark, N. J., February 5. Meeting was called to order by Organizer A. S. Boland. Secretary Burgholz stated receiving communication from General Secretary to make arrangements for the meeting. He further stated that the General Secretary would be present at 5 p. m. As all delegates or at least some of every L. A. were present, he suggested they proceed to hold a regular meeting. Accepted. Aizzone was elected chairman. All officers present. Credentials from L. A. 405 for Jules Magnette and from L. A. 410 for B. Burgholz, were received. Delegates seated.

Minutes of last meeting approved as read.

Organizer reported in regards to agitation work carried on and to be done. Secretary reported in regards to instructions to carry on agitation meetings in Jersey City, Newark, Elizabeth, and Paterson by Jules Magnette and F. C. Burgholz, and that these meetings were a success. About seventy-five pamphlets, "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism," were sold. It was apparent from the interest displayed in Paterson that an L. A. was wanted there.

At the roll call of locals, L. A. 257, L. A. 400, L. A. 405, L. A. 410, and the

hard's "Renaissance in Italy." It is a masterpiece in scholarship and intensely interesting; but it is restricted to Italy.

Morse-Stephens is the best English writer on the French Revolution, but his "Revolutionary Europe" leaves much to be desired. Here is one of those cases where you should take the facts and place your own construction on them. This is especially true of his larger (three volume) work on the French Revolution proper. For the Nineteenth Century, use Seignobos' Political History of Europe since 1814. As the title suggests, this author deals with politics mainly, and some such work as Lombart's Socialism should be used as a key to the meaning of these facts. Lombart's work should find a place in the library of every S. L. P. section. It is an extremely readable account of what may be called the "social history" of Nineteenth Century Europe.

FRANK BOHN.

Minden Mines P. O., Mo.

S. L. P. responded.

Election of officers for the term then took place, with following result: Organizer, Jules Magnette; recording secretary, J. A. Boland; financial secretary and treasurer, Herman Hartung; auditing committee, Magnette; Boland and Aizzone; agitation committee, the organizers of the various locals.

Delegates Hockanson and Hartung requested the D. A. to define the term "wage worker" as per meaning of constitution, and especially if a foreman is a wage worker and could be a member of the S. T. & L. A. This matter was left to the G. E. B. to pass upon.

It was decided to hold regular meetings every first Sunday each month, 3 p. m., at 143 Beacon street, Jersey City, hereafter.

By this time the General Secretary had arrived and was given the floor. He remarked, in part, on the outlook of the labor movement: that the position of the S. L. P. towards all economic organizations and the principles of the S. T. & L. A., especially were beginning to bear fruit, as was shown by the conference held of late in Chicago by various men prominent in the labor movement—among whom was one of our representatives—and by the open recognition of the fact that the fundamental truths contained in the economic

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A fund was started for the to send trial subs of Weekly People. Meeting then adjourned.

Frank C. Burgholz, Secy

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ALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

1880	2,068
1890	21,157
1896	36,564
1900	34,191
1904	34,172

not which way the pen to hold,
hates the slow and loves the bold,
comes the darkness and the cold.

ly, begin though thou have time
for a line, be that sublime—
failure, but low aim, is crime.

—Lowell.

OUR GRAND-DUKES.

a system of the Russian govern-
ment, together with the his-
tory that it has made, can be put in a
bell. The head of the nation is
Czar, from whom the system of
government receives its name. But the
himself figures only as a necessary,
a leading, central figure. The
Czar in such a system is an in-
alienable weak of stamina and strong
in the acquired viciousness of in-
hereditary perverseness, such as
was with the "glorious monarch"
now fills the place. Such is the
Czar. The reason why such a Czar
is ideal one will appear when the
few wheels of the exceedingly sim-
ple mechanism of Czarist Government
are considered. These wheels are the
Dukes, nearest collateral relatives
of the Czar himself. The Grand-Dukes
are real heads of departments. They
are heart of Czarism. They enjoy
all its splendors, but they enjoy
all its power. They decide, they order,
they execute as their interests may demand;
they echo the wishes. A Czar
is a physical fibre readily submits
profiting by the glamor and the
power of a Czar of strong physical fibre
under the dictation of the Grand-
Dukes, and then he dies. Death has ever
been the ally of the Grand-Dukes.
A Czar ever stepped in at the nick of
time. Now, we also, here in America,
our Czar and Grand-Dukes govern
the system.

President Roosevelt, like many a Rus-
sian Czar of strong physical fibre and
national empty-patedness, that is
of every thing except vainglory,
ing to pore as a great liberator,
to has chosen the matter of rail-
road rates as his stalking-horse. The
question of railroad rates would affect
the life of capitalism upon the neck of
the American Working Class just as lit-
tle as the "progressive thoughts."
have periodically taken possession
physically strong of fibre but vain-
glorious Czar, would in anyway have
the yoke of Czarism upon the
subject masses. But the Presi-
dent, the same as similar
"progressive thoughts" on the
part of some Czar, is of a nature cal-
led to annoy and greatly disturb the
rest of our own Grand-Dukes, that
say, of the American capitalist
class, who, like the Grand-Dukes of
Russia, really control the situation, and
are perfectly willing to allow the con-
servative figure to derive all the
credit that may be reflected upon him
for his own material comforts, but
linger at having to suffer material
loss through the foolish ways of
that he would like to emit upon
him. In the case of the Russian
Grand-Dukes, actual poison or physical
force have made the speedy quistus
of who seek such self-glorifica-
tion. The method differs in America,
and, adapted to American condi-
tions, is the identical one that our own
Grand-Dukes pursue. The Ameri-
can capitalist magnates, the heads of
capitalist bureaucracy, being, of
course, in all his secrets, ever have ready
a supply of poisoned arrows with
which to "kill off" a troublesome Presi-
dent. They are now at it, and shooting
off at Roosevelt.

President has only just entered
his "valorous" railroad-rates cam-
paign. But three arrows have already
been shot through the air and are now
lying in his lacerated flesh.

an arrow flew on February 3 from
the pen of President Stickney of the
Western Railway. Addressing the
Boston Economic Society on that
day, the railroad Grand-Duke Stickney

the interstate commerce law forbids
discriminations in rates, but it also pro-
hibits transportation of passengers.
He made the acceptance of a dis-
criminating freight rate or a free pass

by an individual a misdemeanor, each
punishable alike by a fine or imprison-
ment.

"If we inquire into the heart-burnings
growing out of railway discriminations,
which are breeding class distinctions and
class hatred, and even anarchy, among
the so-called lower classes, we will find
that the bitterest feelings are aroused by
being compelled to pay fare while richer
men ride free."

And, as if to make the hint clearer, and
impart to the arrow extra swiftness,
Grand-Duke Stickney quotes the follow-
ing passage from one of the sermonettes
of our railway-pass-using President:

"No one can too strongly insist upon
the elementary fact that you cannot
build the superstructure of public virtue
save on private virtue."

Before this arrow had struck home,
another flew from the bow of the in-
terstate Commerce Commission point-
edly charging the President's present Sec-
retary of the Navy, Morton, with hav-
ing "flagrantly, continuously and delib-
erately" violated the law during his
incumbency as traffic manager of the
Santa Fe road.

And thirdly, from behind the entrench-
ments of these Grand-Dukes, the hand-
grenade is now thrown at the President
convicting him of having lifted, in viola-
tion of the law enacted by Congress and
signed by McKinley, \$98,420 from the
Indian School funds and appropriated
them to sectarian and campaign pur-
poses, by giving them to Catholic schools
for the purpose of securing the aid of
the Catholic hierarchy in carrying "twen-
ty" doubtful congressional districts—a
hand grenade that has forthwith raised
against the President the ire of the
Protestant elements, whom the President
had refused aid to, on the ground of the
non-sectarian law which he subsequently
so full-handedly violated for sectarian
and political purposes.

Our Grand-Dukes are at work—and
it serves the vainglorious American Czar
right.

GOMPERS' CLEVER HIT.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, the representa-
tive of that "Labor principle" that holds
that the interests of the Working Class
and the Capitalist Class are mutual,
realizing that his own "Federationist"
is too obscure an archive in which to
register a "clever hit," has rushed to
his kindred of the capitalist press and
is there declaring that the "Socialist
Trade and Labor Alliance is a piratical
concern," and "a nuisance." We re-
gret that our capitalist adversaries got
ahead of us in this. Had Mr. Gompers
waited awhile, he would have seen his
"clever hit" given the benefit of cir-
culation in the now greedily and ever
more greedily read Socialist Labor Party
press. The "hit" is "clever."

A "piratical concern"—such was the
angry term that irate England, placing
one hand on one sore spot, another on
another perhaps sorer spot, and wishing
she had a score or two more hands to
soothe as many other sore spots, cruelly,
wickedly and outrageously inflicted upon
her by John Paul Jones, applied to the
daring navigator who helped free this
country from British domination and laid
the foundation for the American Navy.
John Paul Jones' craft was certainly
piratical. For one thing, it was small,
and did not compare in hull with the
heavy British hulks of the "regular"
British Navy. For another, it was
quick of motion, rapid of action and
unerring in its blows. It was a "nuis-
ance"—just as Mr. Gompers pronounces
the S. T. & L. A. It was one of those
"nuisances" that are big with fate, that
upset the equanimity of the powers to
whom it is a "nuisance," that turn their
thoughts to "graves, to worms and
epitaphs," their minds "to choose ex-
ecutors," their tongues "to talk of wills."
No wonder. The spirit of a dispensa-
tion now animates all such "nuisances"
and "piratical concerns," the breath of
a higher principle directs their motion,
the strength of advancing civilization
supports them.

Exactly so with the tiny craft of the
S. T. & L. A.—which, by the way, we
thought was "dead!" The Gompers sys-
tem of Unionism, even if ever timely,
has become a scab on the body social.
If not removed, the scab will cause irri-
tation, inflammation, and festering. If
ever it had a star, that star has gone
down. The Working Class demand or-
ganization: Gompersism stands in
its way with its now-monstrosity of
guilds as a substitute. The gallon-quan-
tity of the Labor Movement overflows
the petty pint-measure of Gompersism.
Gompersism, having become rotten-
ripe for destruction, the "piratical con-
cern" of an S. T. & L. A. is putting in
its work to perfection. Like the
"piratical concern" of John Paul Jones,
the S. T. & L. A. is laying one of the
cornerstones to a structure infinitely of
vaster import to the human race than the
socio-political structure of an indepen-
dent America, one of whose cornerstones
was laid by the "piratical concern" of
John Paul Jones.

For once, the dull Gompers did make
a clever hit.

CONVERTED FREE TRADERS.

The figure cut, inside and outside of
the House of Representatives, by the
capitalist spokesmen of free trade at
the threat of railroad rate legislation is
excruciatingly funny.

The free-trade capitalists like all la-
bor-thefters who are themselves fleeced
by more powerful capitalist sharks—
have ever posed as radical, even revolu-
tionary reformers. The very thought
of "revolution" makes these gentry
squirm, as all people do who are aware
of what Labor may do if it ever takes
the bit between its teeth. For all that
our capitalist free-traders have gener-
ously indulged in revolutionary talk. It
was to them in the nature of an in-
vestment; it was intended to captivate
workingmen's votes. Indeed, for down-
right demagoguery, it would be hard to
choose between the free-trader and the
free-coinage. As a consequence of this
the free-trade capitalist ranters have
ever been the butt of the protectionist
capitalists, who patronizingly would
charge them with appealing to "an un-
intelligent public opinion," with arousing
"clamors for remedial laws without
knowledge of the disease," with "echo-
ing mindless cheers," with proposing
"hastily cobbled-up measures," with
"impetuosity" and so forth and so on.

Suddenly we find the free-trade cap-
italist converted. How otherwise than
converted can these worthies now be
when they are seen and heard striking
towards the railroad-ratists the identi-
cal posture that the protectionist cap-
italists strike towards the free-trade
capitalists? Not a warning given, not a
lecture on "wisdom" and "moderation"
read to the free-trade capitalists,
but is now being given and read to the
railroad-ratists by these identical free-
traders. They are now charging the
railroad-ratists with "listening to the
clamors of the unthinking," with "pro-
posing ill-digested measures of relief,"
with "arousing the animus of the ignor-
ant," with "impetuosity," etc., etc.,—in
short, they are parroting the protection
capitalists. They are converted to
"safety and sanity."

The dove-tailing interests of the cap-
italist class may ever be relied upon to
mutually check and counterbalance one
another—and thereby convert the in-
terested ones.

STALE, YET VALUABLE.

Mr. C. W. Post of Battle Creek, Mich.,
but yesterday to fortune and to fame
unknown, is become to-day a house-hold
word. The gentleman's name graces on
the front pages of all our papers. In
most of them, the Socialist press ex-
cepted, he is glorified. Not quite so
radiant is the Socialist at Mr. C. W. Post.
While the Socialist will ever thank-
fully receive from capitalists all in-
formation they are willing to give
against one another, as the outcome of
their Christian Endeavor pious lives and
their Patrick Henry patriotic habits, yet
is the Socialist not quite ready to see
in these revelations the great discoveries
that they affect to be. Mr. C. W. Post
and his revelations are instances in point.

Mr. C. W. Post has discovered that
the New York Federal Senator Thomas
C. Platt is in the Senate only in order
to protect his private interests as the
executive officer of the United States
Express Company. This seems to inter-
fere with Mr. C. W. Post's interests,
and he has petitioned the Senate to
expel Platt. While we shall not deny
that Mr. C. W. Post may have made a
certain concrete discovery, the theory
that rests upon numerous facts of the
same nature, and of which such discov-
eries are but cumulative proof, is an old,
time-honored principle of Socialism.

The Senate will not expel Platt. It
will not for the good and sufficient reason
that there is not a Senator in the Senate
who is not in the same box—only with
regard to some other industry. One is
there to represent the railroads; another
the woolen mills of Massachusetts; a
third, a fourth and a fifth the shipping
of California, of the Great Lakes and
of Maine; another set the coal industries
of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, West
Virginia, Utah and Colorado; still an-
other set the shoe industry; and so down
the line. Mr. C. W. Post evidently
does not know that capitalist politics
preserve the artificial political bound-
aries of constituencies only for the
purpose of concealing the fact that, not
territories, but industries are represented
in capitalist parliaments. The delusion
is necessary. The system arose under
the feudal regime, when the feudal lords
actually represented the particular do-
mains from which they were named,
and that were their actual constituencies.
With the advent of capitalism, the sys-
tem was at first continued because cap-
italist industry, being at its infancy,
had not yet reached the confluent small-
pox stage that it now is in. It was
limited to the burghs and communes from
which the respective "representative" or
"deputy" hailed. By degrees all that
changed, but it would not do to change
the system of representation along with
the developed system of the thing rep-
resented. The fact of the change had
to be kept secret: the secret was neces-

sary in order to preserve the false local
prides of the empty-headed, and also to
pull the wool over the eyes of the work-
ers who are to be blinded to the fact
that what is really represented is not
the people, but the special interests of
the "representatives."

Aware of all this, the Socialist is not
amazed at Platt, nor does he wonder
at the discoverer C. W. Post, except to
notice how little even the C. W. Post
members of the capitalist system realize
the extent to which their system is
foreshadowing the administrative struc-
ture of the Socialist Republic, where
parliament, no longer having for its
purpose to dupe the Working Class, will
drop the artificial political boundaries
of constituencies, and organize itself
with the representatives of the indus-
tries.

In so far as Mr. C. W. Post of Battle
Creek, Mich., has contributed by his
discovery to raise a tip of the curtain
that conceals the formation of the ap-
proaching parliament of the Socialist
Republic, the "discovery," though stale,
is valuable.

The candor of Lawyer Henry Wolman
is commendable. In reasserting the well-
known truth that trusts continue to
develop in spite of opposing legislation
and judicial decisions, he stands in re-
freshing contrast to the hypocritical
legal lights who pretend to see in the
Beef Trust decision "a triumph of law,
that will cause the latter to be more
universally respected," etc., ad nauseum.
As Lawyer Wolman shows that victory
is merely a paper one, of no practical
value. And it cannot be otherwise.
The trust is an organic part of the present
competitive system. Any attempt to
uproot it, or retard its development, is
bound to prove unbeneficial and reaction-
ary. Governmental officials unfavorably
inclined toward it, may secure adverse
legislation and judicial triumphs, but
they dare not and can not make them
effective; so the trust goes right on de-
spite them, preparing the time when the
people will be compelled to make the
trust social property, thus going forward
with industrial development, instead of
against it, as does the "trust buster."

The pure and simple Lancaster (Pa.)
organ, "The Labor Leader," for Feb. 4
contains the following:

"Miners' officials in the anthracite re-
gions are inclined to take a very pes-
simistic view of the future. They be-
lieve that another great strike will be
forced upon them next year. The Del-
aware, Lackawanna and Western Rail-
way is said to have taken the lead in
displaying hostility toward the workers
upon every possible occasion, and that
conditions are steadily going from bad
to worse."

The last clause will explain the whole-
sale withdrawals from the mine workers'
unions. It will also add more evidence
to that already accumulated, showing
the true character of "the great arbitra-
tion victory" won for the miners by
John Mitchell, "labor traitor and tin
labor god of the capitalist class."

The relation of the manufacturer to
distribution is again up. This time the
Canners' Convention at Columbus, O.,
is wrestling with it. Says F. F. Hub-
bard, former Secretary of the New York
State Packers' Association:

"The tendency is toward a closer re-
lation between manufacturer and re-
tailer. We, as packers, cannot refuse
to sell a retailer or combination of re-
tailers, if the quantity purchased is large
enough. We have not the right to dis-
criminate even if we were inclined to do
so. The jobber is the legitimate dis-
tributor, but against the packers' inclina-
tion to deal only with the jobber is the
fact that increasing competition is forc-
ing him to seek the more profitable out-
let."

This tendency does not end here. As
it forces the manufacturer to abolish
the jobber, so also does it force him to
abolish the retailer, and become his
own distributor. The sign familiar in
shoe stores "From Manufacturer to
Wearer Direct," is a sign post on the
high road to the abolition of the re-
tailer, and the control of distributive
outlets by the manufacturer.

The Seattle "Next," flamboyantly
announces that it will be continued
"with dignity" and "a new literary
standard" at Toledo, O., under the name
of "The Socialist." An advance sample
of this "dignity" and "new literary
standard" is given in the following
"note" from the pen of Mr. or Dr. Titus,
the editor:

"Poor Ford, of Fairbault! and poor
De Leon, when he is reduced to such
straits as to exploit Ford! The bond
of sympathy between them is their
equal inability to tell the truth about
the Socialist party."

No wonder Mr. or Dr. Titus goes in
Seattle by the nickname that he does!

"The Appeal to Reason" of February
4 has a two-page writhing of distress.
This is highly educational. We mean
it, seriously. It tells a significant tale.

ON THE PICKET LINE.

The "Arizona Socialist," just started
in Phoenix, Ariz., is the latest sour berry
that has been ripened on the barren
thorn of the so-called Socialist, alias
Social Democratic, alias Public Own-
ership party. Making its bow to the pub-
lic as an educator, the paper advances
the following honey-headed populist
delusion as "Socialist philosophy":

"There are only two classes in this
country—those who have to work and
those who don't—the workers and the
capitalists."

Socialist philosophy is neither the
fruit of that involuntary mental strabis-
mus that confuses facts, nor of that
trained moral strabismus that sees the
facts clearly enough, but finds its tac-
tical account in confusing them.

No doubt WORK is a feature of the
Working Class, but that feature is not
a cause, it is a result of the actual
class-mark of the proletariat. Running
is a feature of the horse; but running is
not the mark of the species horse. Other
animals also run, the coyote, for in-
stance. To fix upon running, as the test
of classification, would land the horse
and the coyote in the same category—
a zoologic absurdity. It is an equal
error, landing into a similar economic
or sociologic absurdity of gravest con-
sequences, to fix upon WORK as the
badge of a class distinction.

Class distinctions are planted upon a
material fact, not upon a consequence
therefrom. The material fact that marks
the economic classes is THE POSSES-
SION OF THE REQUISITES FOR
WORK—the possession of natural op-
portunities, the land on, and of the so-
cial opportunities, the capital, with
which to labor. This is the line of ele-
vation. The social element that is strip-
ped of these requisites for labor is the
proletariat, the Working Class; on the
other side of the line stand all the social
elements that are possessed of these re-
quisites for labor—and they are the Cap-
italist Class.

Obviously, the Working Class must
work. Stripped as it is of the re-
quisites for labor; it can not live upon the
work of others, it must sell itself, the
only thing it has to sell, into wage-bon-
dage, and that means that it must sub-
mit to be fleeced by the Capitalist Class.
It does not, however, follow that the
Capitalist Class is a homogeneous ele-
ment, a "happy family" among itself.
Far from it.

The class-mark of the Capitalist Class
is the possession of the requisites for
work. But the members of the Cap-
italist Class are not as equally equipped
with the weapons of production as the
members of the Working Class are strip-
ped thereof. The members of the Work-
ing Class are wholly stripped of the re-
quisites for work; among the members
of the Capitalist Class, however, the re-
quisites for work are unequally distrib-
uted. As a consequence of this fact, the
Capitalist Class itself falls into several
sub-classes. The Lawton revelations il-
lustrate what here in America may come
to be known as the "Frenzied Finance",
known in Europe as the "Haute (high)
Finance", quite commonly designated in
English as the "Plutocracy": this sub-
class deals in liquid or sublimated cap-
ital—Money. Of course, it does not work.
Below the Plutocracy is the capitalist
proper, the man who still is in more or
less touch with his plant. Although a
powerful sub-class, and also a non-work-
er, this element is extensively parasit-
ed upon by the upper sub-class of the Plu-
tocrat. The third well marked sub-class
of the Capitalist Class consists of the
element that has some of the requisites
for work, but in so small a quantity
that it can not live wholly upon the
Working Class, as its other two capital-
ist sub-classes can and do; this sub-
class must itself put its shoulders to the
wheel; it must work; this is the "Middle
Class", composed of small farmers, small
traders, small producers generally.

Now, all this has a grave bearing
upon the practical work for the aboli-
tion of capitalism. It determines the
tactics that alone can lead to success.
It throws the X-rays upon the fact that
the class interests of the Middle Class
will ever set it at war against the upper
sub-classes of its own Capitalist Class,
but NEVER AT WAR AGAINST CAP-
ITALISM. The Middle Class, even where
it does not directly employ workingmen,
and fleeces them of course, profits by the
exploitation of Labor. Cheap transporta-
tion rates, for instance, is a day-dream
that delights the Middle Class. But
cheap rates means an exploited railroad
workingmen personnel. It follows that,
although the Middle Class, whom the
"Arizona Socialist" places in "the same
economic position with the wage-work-
er," does "work," its class and, con-
sequently, its class interests, are inherently
the opposite of and diametrically op-
posed to the class and the class interests of
the Working Class.

Does the "Arizona Socialist" know
all this and yet holds the fly-paper lan-
guage that it does? If so, then the "Ar-
izona Socialist" is deliberately trying to

wheel the workingman into another
populist trap.

Does the "Arizona Socialist" not know
all this? Then it is guilty of blame-
worthy levity for darkening council with
ignorance, instead of schooling itself
before attempting to school others, upon
an issue of deepest gravity to the Work-
ing Class of the land.

The Socialist Labor Party knows that
the reasoning in this article is "mud-
slinging," "tyranny," "Gradgrind So-
cialism," "intolerance," "narrowness,"
"viperous poison," etc., etc. Neverthe-
less, unfaltering in its mission of educat-
ing and drilling the American Working
Class for its emancipation, the S. L. P.
will serenely face all such "terrific
bolts," and, not as a Jesus to be sacri-
ficed for the salvation of others, nor as a
Winkler pressing the enemy's lances
into his own breast, and with his pro-
strate body opening a path for the abject
rear, the Socialist Labor Party will still
push forward, hewing a wide swath
through the jungle, and triumphantly
carrying to the goal its banner of Red-
emption, to the cry of "The Uncondi-
tional Surrender of the Capitalist Class".

A glimpse into the journals of "or-
ganized" labor, will convince the most
skeptical that unemployment is rampant
in all the leading cities of the country.
Members are warned to stay away from
them, and statistics are given showing
the numbers at work a year or two ago
as compared with to-day. In this city,
the number of idle men was recently said
by Superintendent York of the Muni-
cipal Lodging House to be 40 per cent.
greater than at the same time last year.
In the Sun of Feb. 3, Superintendent
Hammond of the Bowery Mission, con-
firms these figures and intimates that
the increase of crime and the increase
of the unemployed are related, the lat-
ter producing the former.

Superintendent Hammond shows that
shoals of men have been attracted here
by the news of great undertakings.
He thinks if publicity were given the
Free Labor Bureau of his institution
and employers in different parts of the
country interested, "we can easily find
work for the greater portion of the
unemployed men now on our streets." This
is, to put it mildly, a wrong idea.
Where are those men to find employ-
ment? In the cities from which they
have fled under the necessity of finding
employment here? In the cities where,
the trade union journals show us, the
unemployed are numerous? Unemploy-
ment and crime can only be eliminated
by the abolition of Capitalism.

Last Thursday, Mr. Moot, counsel for
the coal trust, arguing before the In-
terstate Commerce Commission declared:
"When a miner gets his pockets full of
money he struts about like a lord, and
you cannot get good work out of him." One
is compelled to conclude from this
argument that to make a good produc-
tive worker out of the miner, his wages
must be reduced and his pockets kept
empty. On Friday last, Mr. Moot again
had the ear of the Commission. On this
occasion he argued that to lower freight
rates would be to affect the miner, as,
in the last analysis, he would have to
stand it all. He therefore objected to
lowering freight rates. One, considering
Mr. Moot's previous argument, would
think that that would be the
very thing Mr. Moot would de-
sire. If prosperity spoils the miner,
and adversity is necessary to make a
good worker out of him, why not lower
his wages and bring about the much de-
sired end by lowering freight rates? The
matter is easily explained: the cap-
italist argues as his interests demand.
Low wages and high freight rates are
both to his interest, and he intends to
get both without sacrificing either. In
capitalist interests will be found the
consistent reason for all of capital's in-
consistencies.

The Wilkesbarre, Pa., despatch an-
nouncing the \$3,000,000 sliding scale in-
crease in 1904 for the anthracite min-
ers, is to be taken with a grain of salt.
This increase, which amounts to about
\$75 for each of the 40 odd thousand mine
workers concerned, has been more than
regained by the operators through in-
creased rents, fare, cost of supplies,
overtopping, etc., etc. This will ex-
plain why, despite this \$3,000,000 in-
crease in wages, the anthracite mine
workers are leaving the United Miners'
Workers in the lurch. They realize
that the victory gained by Mitchell is a
barren one—one that would better
have gone to the enemy than to them-
selves.

Harriman, the capitalist, in whose be-
half Roosevelt is believed to have waged
the Northern Securities crusade, is now
the leading railroad magnate of the
world. This may afford a clue to the
cause of the Rough Rider's activity.

The "Sun" is right when it says the
whole rate bill incident won't amount
to much. The government is not the
capitalist class; the capitalist class is
the government.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I have
been reading up on the class struggle.

UNCLE SAM—That's good.

B. J.—But I find it too narrow.

U. S.—How would you broaden it?

B. J.—The strict class struggle draws
the line between wage earners and cap-
italists.

U. S.—Correct.

B. J.—I don't think that's right or
sound. The line should be drawn be-
tween the toilers and the non-toilers.

U. S.—For instance?

B. J.—The clerk of a groceryman is a
toiler, but the groceryman himself toils
also. Under the strict principle of the
class struggle, the line is drawn between
the two, placing the clerk on one side
with other workers, and the toiling gro-
ceryman on the other, and together with
the Depews, Vanderbilts, Goulds, Count
Castellanos, etc. Now that is all wrong—

U. S.—How would you fix it?

B. J.—I would place the toiling gro-
ceryman on the same side of the line
with all other toilers, whether wage
earners or not, and on the other side the
idlers and spongers.

U. S.—If you did so you would pretty
soon get all mixed up; just as mixed as
if you placed the strawberry and the
daisy in the same botanical family. The
two grow close to the ground, etc., yet
they belong to two wholly distinct fam-
ilies. Again, the strawberry grows on a
lowly bush, the apple on a stately tree;
upon your principle of classifying the
toiling groceryman separately from the
Vanderbilts, you would put the straw-
berry and the apple in different families;
fact is that they are of one and the same
family.

B. J.—You don't say so!

U. S.—Yes. The mouse is a little ani-
mal, the elephant a big one; you would
classify them separately, yet the fact is
that the elephant and the mouse are one
family.

B. J. (with increased astonishment)—
Yes?

U. S.—Yes. What determines the kin-
ship between plants and animals is, not
appearance, but some fundamental fact
that typifies them. Now, the fundamen-
tal fact that typifies the toiling small
groceryman is not his toiling; other
people toil with whom you would not
rank the toiling groceryman; pickpock-
ets toil, and toil hard; stock brokers toil,
and toil hard. The fundamental fact
that typifies the toiling groceryman is
that he is in possession of property,
whereby he can, and does, just as the
big capitalist, squeeze labor out of an-
other human being; and the typifying
feature of the groceryman's clerk is that,
being stripped of all property whereby
to earn his own living, he is bound to
sell himself to the man who has such
property. It is upon those lines that the
economic classes are separated. To blur
that line is to open the doors for all
sorts of false steps; hence so many "re-
form" parties that jump up and collapse.

B. J.—Yes, yes; and yet it seems to
me that the groceryman has a hard time
of it.

U. S.—No doubt; and yet no harder
than many a pirate who, being caught,
was hanged to the yardarms of his own
ship. If the groceryman has sense—and
what is said of him is said of the whole
middle class—he would simply throw in
his lot with the proletariat, but to do
that he must accept proletarian econom-
ics, instead of doing what the middle
class now try to do, to join the prole-
tariat by forcing upon it middle class
economics—coal plays a la Democratic
party," public ownership of public util-
ities," etc. Only then is there help for
the sinking middle class.

B. J.—H'm! I now see it in another

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

TWO FLIES WITH ONE CLAP.

To the readers of the Weekly People: On the title page of The People of February 4, 1905, I see an article with the above headlines and while I may agree in the main with the writer, there is at least one point in particular I wish to see clarified; and that point concerns the Trades Union in comparison with political organization.

Now according to my view a political organization is one whose duties are set forth in securing to each organ of which it is composed the full benefit of the entire body, for each statute is only a part of the entire code. A government as I understand it must apply to each individual in a manner to make prominent the better forces of nature by curbing the more brutal part. And if the same is not true of the Trades Union it can hold but one place in the category of civil institution and that place is curbed. In regard to knocking out the lines of the different sections of our political government and instituting what is termed a parliament of Socialist Republic, I will say there is only one way to do that lawfully. We cannot limit apprenticeship in the different trades and overpower the outside world by this limited number unless brutality overpowers the man. Trades Union can only stand for one portion of the Socialist Republic and a parliament must be the pledge of all. Well says one, Cannot the Trades Union support that pledge? Hardly, when the number of apprentices is limited in almost all trades.

The body of trades in Chillicothe, if it be a fair sample, looks upon the outside worker with the same parliamentary countenance that the followers of Jeff Davis looked upon the Southern negro. There is hung to the rear end of the monster a very lengthy appendage of conclusions giving it a chance to try to manipulate some of our political offices to further its ends. You know, concubines have ballots and all that is necessary is a few cents more in wages and some would sell our very freedom or, as has been shown in H. J. Brimble's account of the blowing up on the depot, would take our actual life. Such a system meets but my contempt. I will not give it my support.

Lewis Jefferson Freeman.

Chillicothe, O., Feb. 5.

[The only explanation we can give to the question put and posture taken by our correspondent is either that he has not read the article in question with care, or that he read it with care but is not up to the literature on the subject. In a discussion on such a subject so much has been written that the terms used acquire a technical sense. A writer often takes it for granted that the terms are understood. Our correspondent's contempt for the system of Unionism that he has in mind, with its devices to reduce the membership through restrictions of apprentices and other schemes, is no less than the contempt of the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance for the monstrosities called "Union", and for the individuals who profit by them, especially when they call themselves Socialists. It has been the burden of the song of the S. L. P. and of the S. T. & L. A. that such "Unions" are wheels in the mechanism of capital, and no part of the Labor Movement, in that they aim at and accomplish just what capitalism aims at, to wit, to keep the Working Class divided. The bona fide Trades Union is as broad as the Working Class. The matter is taken up very much in full in the address "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism", to which we refer our correspondent. A question, providentially put at the end of the address and answered, covers the point exactly.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

A VERY BRILLIANT AND STUPID PROFESSOR.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Last night I had to "carry the banner". I expect a job up in Westchester County to-day, so I had to hang on to the little change I've left to enable me to pay for my transportation, so I must needs do without a bed.

Did you ever work twelve to fourteen hours a day? It's "easy" to "drilling" the pavements of this great city. Early in the evening a light fall of snow took place, and as I was passing Cooper Union at the time, I stepped inside, for the more potent reason of sheltering myself from the storm and also to gain knowledge from the lecture that was advertised for the evening—a lecture on "Children and Childhood", by a learned (?) college president, Hall, of Clark University.

The chairman, a Prof. Leipziger, advised the audience that the course of lectures, one of which I heard, were

educational and not agitational, so when the very brilliant orator of the evening said in the course of his remarks that the "Socialists claim that all men were created equal", I could not answer him, or rather instruct him, that though I had made as an exhaustive study of the subject of Socialism as my intelligence permitted, I never read a writer making that claim, but I do know and believe that all men should have an equal opportunity to enjoy life.

The learned parasite was asked by a listener if it were not because of the present economic system that there were fewer marriages among the "upper" or college-bred classes, the professor having quoted statistics showing that only 30 per cent. of the educated women marry, and about 30 per cent. of the men. The professor gave his questioner the merry ha! ha! but claimed that the present economic system was pretty near ideal. "How?" I ventured to ask, and this pudd'n-headed, wooden-headed of a jay answered that "hours of labor were growing shorter, wages higher, and nobody who wanted work need be idle," and me wondering where breakfast was coming from, and no place to lay my weary bones over night. I'm not getting what I voted for though, I voted for something I don't expect to get, happiness in this world, but may the Fates bring joy to posterity through Socialism.

A. L. Montgomery.

Mills Hotel, Bleeker street, N. Y. City, Feb. 5.

HE KNOWS THEM.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—While I affiliate with the "pop" party, I sympathize with the S. L. P. movement because I think it advocates genuine Socialism. I look upon the Kanga as a fraud and I would like to expose them all I can. They are trying to get a start here just now. I made up my mind that if an S. L. P. movement has no show here at present, that I would with all my might oppose the Kanga and stick to Socialism. I am sure that populism has made and can make a better record than the Kanga have made or can make. No party that ever came into existence has had so many freaks and frauds in it as the Kangaroo, alias "Socialist" party.

The trouble is people do not know the difference and think they vote for Socialism when they vote the S. D. P. ticket! Very few, as yet, know about the S. L. P., which is too poor to distribute literature broadcast. Some people never read anything unless it is sent to them free. As the old mailing list of The People will prove, I have read The People quite a while. I never intend to oppose a genuine Socialist party. Don't unite with the Kanga, if you do not wish to die.

V. J. Steady.

Broken Bow, Nebraska, Jan. 24.

PITTSBURG PROSPECTS BRIGHT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Braddock, Pa., at its January 30th meeting elected E. Markley, organizer; August Clever, financial secretary and treasurer; Comrade McKee, corresponding secretary, and H. Wells, agent for "Der Arbeiter". We elected a committee to attend to the organization of Section Allegheny County, in conjunction with Section Wilkensburg. We also added 7 new members to our membership list. More to come! Prospects never were brighter. The workmen are waking up as they never did before; and the members of the Socialist Labor Party should be up and doing.

Braddock, Pa., Jan. 31.

INCIPIENT EXPLOSION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The City Central Committee of the Social Democratic party held a meeting last Monday night behind closed doors. The voices of the discontents, however, could plainly be heard outside of the committee room, and some of the expressions distinguishable, were of a nature which indicated of great dissatisfaction within the Social Democratic party organization. We know an eruption will have to come sooner or later.

Milwaukee, Wis., Feb. 1.

H. B.

BRIDGEPORT MEETINGS.

Section Bridgeport, Conn., meets each Sunday forenoon, 10.30 a. m. at their hall in the Nichols Block, Main street, near Congress. All workmen are cordially invited.

Short but interesting discussions upon working class topics.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

On the Chicago Manifesto

I.

From Philip Veal, Member S. L. P.

East St. Louis, Ill., January 30.—

Under the head of the "First Explosion," party members and friends are invited to write on the Chicago Manifesto, but as yet I have not seen anything outside of our editor's editorial on the subject. The discussion running in The People, "Are We At Bulgaria or Italy?" expresses the position that the S. L. P. must take, especially when it comes to meeting with the Bergers, Hayeses, Mills, and the others who have made themselves notorious to the thinking men in the working class movement by their contortion acts. We can very easily draw the line on the representative of the middle class. Since this first explosion in the Trades Union Movement, via the conference recently held in Chicago, a parting of the ways has taken place, with the result that the explosion has killed the representatives of the middle class, and mortally wounded others.

When we look over the industrial field of America from East to West, we see it as one of misery and privation for our— the working-class: shut down here, strikes there—the class war intensified. It has been said that men think quickly under such circumstances. So the members of the Socialist Labor Party—ever alert to the forces that must make up the army that is to battle for our class emancipation—must look at the actions of men. I will compare two organizations, which are in the field representing the craft known as the miners of this country.

Recently in Indianapolis, there met in convention, the United Mine Workers, with John Mitchell, the \$3000 President, at its head—the John Mitchell who, when the coal miners of Colorado were on strike, came back East (after endorsing the strike), goes to Europe with his literary collaborator, a sky pilot named Weil, writes articles to the capitalist papers of America on the condition of the European workingmen, tells the American workingmen that the main drawback in the large towns of England is the overcrowding (he does not tell the workingmen that the capitalists of London are not overcrowded), and otherwise used time paid for by the United Mine Workers of America for his own profit, and the protection of the interests of the capitalist class.

Holyoke, Mass., February 4.—It is my opinion that Comrade Bohn acted wisely when he morally bound the Socialist Labor Party to take part in the proposed Chicago conference. It seems to me that the American working class must and will, sooner or later, make a fair start for successful emancipation from the yoke of capitalist wage slavery. Never mind if all do not fully agree as to our ideal of the So-

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 4.—As a member of the committee appointed by the Chicago conference to draw up the Manifesto, I question Arthur A. Prussak's interpretation thereof and object to his calling it "The Manifesto of the new national and International Trades Union."

Mayhap, Comrade Prussak does not employ the term "Trades Union" in the A. F. of L. understanding of the words, but as signifying consolidation of all trades in a class-wide solidarity; nevertheless its use, without qualification, fits naturally into the "no politics in the union" interpretation which he wrongly gives to the Manifesto.

To take the clause, "an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party", away from its context and hammer it out of all proportion to the rest of the Manifesto is a work easy of achievement, albeit not conducive to right appreciation of the spirit and scope of that document. Not a single member of the conference fancied for a moment that this clause would be construed to imply "no politics in the union" in the sense that there should not be full and free discussion in every local of the political aspects of the class struggle.

The purpose of economic organization of the working class is to train the proletarian for the acquisition and management of the machineries of production and distribution by organizing the workers as nearly as possible in the same groups and departments of labor as will afterward obtain in the administration of the co-operative commonwealth; so that, if the franchise should be wrested from them, they would still have a class-conscious organization intelligently directed and capable of taking over and

When Mitchell was in Indianapolis, Ind., recently, he was surrounded by the most brazen-faced lot of fakirs that the American continent has ever produced. Lewis and Haskins, of Ohio, Ryan, of Illinois, Pat Dolan, of Pennsylvania, were there. They felt secure, but a voice, that of Robt. Randell, rang clear and distinct, "Mitchell, you're a traitor." The wage slave who uttered those words was not known, probably, outside of the private penitentiary, known as the mine, at Dietz, Wyoming; but the chief and his supporters, true to their immediate material interests, which are ever of more importance than those of the class they are supposed to represent, called a conference. This man must be fired out. This wage slave, who has only got a slight glimpse of the working class movement, instinctively stood by his position. They could not humiliate him; hence, they fired him out. They could not feel at home with a man in their midst who would thus expose them; so they fired him out! Who could have predicted that explosion?

Now, let us take a look at the Western Federation of Miners, by way of contrast. Can a man judge it at long range or do we have to get a microscope to examine it? Its history speaks for itself. Men who were driven out of the coal fields of Pennsylvania, and from the iron mines of Michigan, who had followed that great misleader, T. V. Powderly, readily adopted the tactics of the Western Federation of Miners. One thing can be said: they adopted a policy of free political discussion, and wherever the cunning fakir had not prejudiced the minds of these men their halls were thrown open to the agitators of the Socialist Labor Party. First we see the Western Federation of Miners endorsing the S. L. P., and then the S. P. Then we see some of its leaders working for the old political parties. Then we see the men of this organization, together with their leaders, going to the bull-pens and the jails. We see a craft consciousness shown never excelled in the world before!

Two years ago, while speaking at Victor, Colorado, a member of the Western Federation of Miners came to me and said: "Veal, the Citizens' Alliance is going to stop you from speaking." That was before the strike commenced. "You roasted some of our local men, but you

II.

From M. Ruther, Member S. L. P.

cialist Workers' Republic. All of the American colonists who wanted freedom did not want a Republic.

If the time is not ripe for the movement we hope for, we surely lose nothing by having our representatives there. If the movement is dishonest we will fight it. If it is honest it will welcome us as a tried and true ally, all the more so since our Party has the resources for a powerful fight. We have a daily paper capable of issuing 100,000 copies a day, a weekly paper capable of flooding the

I.

From Thos. J. Hagerty, Editor "Voice of Labor."

allow the directions for a well-known culinary triumph, you must "first catch your hare". The Democratic or Republican workman would very probably refuse to join an organization directly affiliated with a Socialist party, although he might willingly join an industrial union and, through free discussion of the economics and politics of the class struggle in that union, become sufficiently enlightened to seek membership in a Socialist party.

In order that the general administration of the proposed economic organization may be "conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class", direct affiliation with a political Socialist party is not absolutely essential. The constitution of the organization can be so framed as to prohibit any officer of any union in the organization taking part in the campaign of a capitalist political party, just as the Socialist Labor Party forbids any member holding office in a pure and simple trades union.

Comrade Prussak's objection to three members of the conference, who he designates by a crescendo of exclamation marks, cannot be said to be argument against the Manifesto. Doubtless, there was a time in the life of many a class-conscious Socialist when he advocated principles wholly at variance with those which he now upholds; but at the best it is only ghoul's work to dig up the bones of his dead past. Let them lie; and take the man for what he is in the living present. As Voltaire puts it, "pour qui ne les croit pas, il n'est pas de prodiges", there are no miracles to the man who does not believe in them; yet it may be that the Manifesto voices economic developments strong enough to

work prodigious changes in minds erstwhile hopelessly bourgeois. At any rate, the principles enunciated in the Manifesto are true or false on their own merits; and discussion of them in an unpassioned, scientific spirit is greatly to be desired. Personalities disturb the nice balance of one's judgment and do not contribute to constructive criticism, except when, in the words of Marx, "individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are perceptions of economic categories, embodiments of particular class-relations and class interests."

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

BRADDOCK, N. Y.—The same old, he would walk out with the weapon in his possession. For these reasons the Party owns its press absolutely, and as it does not choose to be "popped" by anyone, it refuses to build up any potential "popes"—such as would be built up if any member were to start his own paper, and, of course, draw upon the Party's energies for its support. The Party hopes that, as it gathers strength, it may start more and more papers in the several localities, but it insists upon the right to control these papers absolutely through its National Executive, and the referendum vote of the whole membership, and to retain the power to oust the editor or editors, whenever it may think fit. This is the Party's position in the matter; it may be a wrong position; if so let's hear your reasons; but whatever name may be applicable to the position, "popery" certainly is not the fit one.

W. H., CHICAGO, ILL.—"Le Socialiste", 10 rue de la Corderie, Paris, France.

C. A. V. K., BRACONDALE, CANADA.—Where the constitution of a body does not specify the number necessary for a quorum, but does specify the number necessary for organizing the body, the majority of that number is a quorum.

J. H., NEW YORK.—The speech will not be published in these columns. Constitutions received.

C. J. B., BUFFALO, N. Y.—A "commodity" is an article of merchandise. A feature of merchandise is that it is for sale, and its utility to its owner dependent upon its sale. Labor-power is sold and bought in the labor-market; its only utility to its owner, the workman, depends upon its being sold. Hence labor-power is a commodity, or article of merchandise.

E. W. E. P., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—It is a waste of time to argue with a person who says "the Trades Union Question is trivial", and says so without advancing a single argument against the Socialist Labor Party reasoning that the Trades Union Question is vital. The S. L. P. may be in error. The Party is not infallible. Its reasoning on the Trades Union Question may be utterly false. And nobody, gladder than the Party, will listen to argument on this or any other point on which the Party expresses itself. But assertion is no argument.

D. R., LONDON, ONT.—No necessity of such a round-about process. The latter is now in the hands of the N. E. C. Communicate directly.

F. L., CINCINNATI, O.—The S. T. & L. A. has always been ready to recognize the card of the A. F. of L. in a shop, provided the A. F. of L. recognized the S. T. & L. A. card. The S. T. & L. A. posture is in obedience to its principle of consolidating the working class. The A. F. of L., on the contrary, true to its special interests, which demand the continued dismemberment of the working class, has refused to recognize the card of the S. T. & L. A. and struck against its members.

C. R. S., WORCESTER, MASS.—The labor organization that recognizes the necessity of working untidily and striking untidily in the shop, but denies or ignores the equal necessity of striking untidily at the ballot box, is blind of one eye. Every argument that justifies the demands for obedience to the economic rules of the Union, is an argument in support of the Union's right to establish political rules, and enforcing them to the extent that the same are enforceable.

S. D. O'C., HELENA, MONT.—The term "popery" is a misnomer when applied to the S. L. P. demand that none of its members engage in issuing a privately owned Socialist paper. The Party reasons that: The Socialist press is a powerful weapon and is a weapon that can not be forged in a day or by any one man. It requires much time and the organized co-operation of the whole organization. A weapon forged in such a manner would, if privately owned, have two edges,—one against the foe, so long as it is wielded honestly, and another edge, an edge that might turn against the Party itself. This edge would come into play the moment its private owner chose to change his political or economic views. The moment

work prodigious changes in minds erstwhile hopelessly bourgeois. At any rate, the principles enunciated in the Manifesto are true or false on their own merits; and discussion of them in an unpassioned, scientific spirit is greatly to be desired. Personalities disturb the nice balance of one's judgment and do not contribute to constructive criticism, except when, in the words of Marx, "individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are perceptions of economic categories, embodiments of particular class-relations and class interests."

L. L. C., GRAND JUNCTION, COLO.—Robert Hunter's figures on poverty can be relied on, especially those on New York City.

G. A. M., TORONTO, ONT.—Emanuel Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason".

F. E., HELENA, MONT.—3,500,000 S. L. P. votes in the United States? 3,500,000 S. L. P. votes actually returned by the election inspectors? Why, that would knock capitalism in America higher than Gilderoy's kite. In Germany it does not produce a ripple.

IAN ACHALUACHROACH, INVERNESS, SCOTL.—The Minnesota man is a crank. His sanity may be doubted. Other matters were all received.

T. H. S., PUEBLO, COLO.—First, as above answer to C. R. S., Worcester, Mass. Specifically, we would add: In order to illustrate the point, we would say that if a Union decides that the Republican party should be supported, such a decision though wrong in practice, would be right in the principle. It would proceed from the principle that there is a political scabbery as heinous as the already recognized economic scabbery. The correct principles of the oneness of politics and economics being recognized, the Union in question will either go to smash forthwith, and that would denote the falseness of its conclusion in choosing a capitalist party, or it will resist disruption, but discover the incongruity of labor economics and capitalist politics, revoke its previous pro-capitalist party decision, and stand by the S. L. P.

C. S., PITTSBURG, PA.—As far as we know, Mr. B. Feigenbaum is a man of clean family life. The gentleman limits his debaucheries to the field of economic science. The individual whom a woman sued for the support of a child that she claimed was his, was Mr. Herman Simon, a Kangel of this city.

E. L. W., BOSTON, MASS.—Whence do you—your mouth full with the dogma "the rights of the individual in their full sense"—arrogate to yourself the right to say that "a drunkard exceeds his rights"? Where "the rights of the individual in their full sense" is a basic principle, the drunkard would be justified to turn upon you also, claiming that you "exceed" your rights in whatever notion you may have, and put into practice, that does not suit him. The fact is that there is no such thing as "the rights of the individual in their full sense", and never was. Among savages, the individual who exercises "the rights of the individual in their full sense" is brained by the individual who feels interfered with by such an exercise; and if the former is not brained it is because he succeeds in braining the latter. Civilization means organization. In organized society the promiscuous "braining" is done away with, and men start in with the knowledge that "the rights of the individual in their full sense" is a phrase impossible of application.

M. R. C., New York.—As you keep the files of The People, you will find the questions answered there.

T. S., NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—1st, For heaven's sake, leave Bishop Stang alone. He, and other clerical twaddlers, are doing nicely for Socialism. They are advertising it! Their twaddle will not cost Socialism a single supporter, and may gain many to it. Moreover, twaddle is no target. We shoot only at targets.

2nd, This office has no authority to interpret the constitution of the S. L. P. That is the business, first of your own State Committee, and, on appeal to the N. E. C.

L. F., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—Why must you fly off the handle! This office can not be abreast, to the minute, on the changes in the Party membership, especially not at a distance. The person, known in this office as not a member of the S. L. P., never is referred to as a "Comrade".

L. L. C., GRAND JUNCTION, COLO.—Robert Hunter's figures on poverty can be relied on, especially those on New York City.

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(Continued on page 8.)

Are We at Bulgaria or Italy?

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN—Obedient to the orders of the sub-committee of the N. E. C. ordering this office to publish in the Weekly People of the 18th inst., only as many of the contributions on "Bulgaria-Italy," as can conveniently go into that issue, to thereupon discontinue the discussion in the Weekly, to continue in the Daily the publication of only those Party members communications that arrived in this office on or before the 11th inst., and then to discontinue the discussion wholly, we here notify contributors as follows:

The contributions that have appeared in the Daily, but for which there is no room in the Weekly of this week, February 18, are from: Comrades Campbell, Boland, Hemberg, Kaufner, Crossmann, Seidel, Hinkel and Fuehrer.

The contributions that have not yet appeared in the Daily, but that, having been received on or before the 11th inst., will still be published in the Daily are from: Comrades Stromquist, Monette, Orange, Kemp, Walsh, Elide and Kern.

Copies of the Daily containing their contributions will be mailed to the respective contributors.

I.

Under the above title a discussion is going on in The People. I would like to add a few remarks in that discussion.

It was in 1902 that I came from Hungary to this country. Having been a member of the Socialist movement in my native country I was anxious to join the movement here. But I found it was hard to do so, for I found here two Socialist parties. I knew that if there are two Socialist parties in a country one must be the party standing for reform, the other for revolution. Not being a reformer I tried to find the difference between the two parties. What did I find? That the Social Democratic party is a party which does not stand even for reforms, but, covered with the mask of Socialism, it helps the capitalists to uphold this system, and to fight the only party which stands for the interest of the working class, which is the Socialist Labor Party.

On December 15, 1903, I wrote an article which was published in the "Nepeska." I explained in that article WHY SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ARE NOT SOCIALISTS. In the same article I also asked the members of the Hungarian Federation to study the arguments which I showed them in that article, and told them that if they studied these arguments and find the same correct, then they would help the question of which party to join. The result was that the HUNGARIAN COMRADES ASSEMBLED IN A SPECIAL CONVENTION ELEVEN MONTHS LATER (NOV. 6, 1904), AND VOTED THAT THE FEDERATION SHALL JOIN THE S. L. P. (see The People, Nov. 7, 1904).

Since the last year we have had more arguments which show and make clear why the Social Democratic party is a capitalist organization. We have seen their national convention, and the platform and resolutions adopted there. We have also seen their campaign as carried on in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and Michigan. We have seen their State platform in Wisconsin, their municipal platform in St. Louis, and their "Socialistic" actions at the last convention of the A. F. of L. All this together is enough proof to see and to know what they stand for.

A year ago I asked the Hungarian comrades to study the arguments and they will find out which party to join. Now I ask the Socialist Labor Party members to take up these arguments and then they will find why the S. L. P. cannot compromise or unite with the S. D. P. You could do something else. What? You could distribute the S. L. P. literature among the members of the S. D. P. wherein they would find the reason why their organization is capitalist, why their leaders endorse capitalist candidates and institutions, why they are traitors to the working class movement. Of course, we cannot say that all the members of the S. D. P. are corrupt, they are not, but they don't know better, and for this reason it is the S. L. P. men's duty to teach them. If you do this you will then be able to drop that question of compromise and unity. There will be no one left with whom you could compromise or unite. With the S. D. P. as a party we cannot compromise, and their honest and intelligent members will come to the S. L. P. without unity. There are comrades who speak about the 291,000 votes that Debs received, but I think no S. L. P. man was surprised by these votes, DEBS RECEIVED MOST OF THOSE VOTES FROM THOSE CONSERVATIVE VOTERS WHO FOUND NO HEART OR BRYAN ON THE BALLOT. THESE ARE THE VOTES WHICH THE S. L. P. NEVER ASKS FOR. The S. L. P. says: "We only want your vote if you cast it for the

principles of Socialism." Then, of course, when we receive the votes we know that every vote for the S. L. P. is a protest against capitalism and a vote for Socialism. I will use Comrade Berry's conclusion: "On general principles I am opposed to mongrels anywhere and everywhere, especially in the political movement of the working class."

Yours for the fighting S. L. P.,
Edward Rosenberg,
Boston, Mass., Jan. 10.

II.

I am very much interested in the discussion now going on in our paper in regard to "Are We At Bulgaria or Italy?" I had a letter written on the subject when the letters from Comrades Berry and Cox appeared, which so nearly coincided with what I had written (barring the personal allusions), that it would be a waste of space to have mine printed, but I deem it of great importance, in order to arrive at a correct conclusion of the question, to ascertain, as far as possible, the nature and aims of this party of many names that passes as Socialist before the voters; also the material it is composed of, and, as it is "all things to all men," having different platforms in different States, it is very reasonable to believe that at some particular place where industrial conditions favor, an exceptional lot of intelligent young men will arrive at the stage described by Comrade Bohn in the Weekly People of January 7, but it will be no surprise should he find an entirely different lot before he gets done with his tour.

The object of this letter is to acquaint The People readers with the personnel and tactics of the "Public Ownership party," as the thing is called here.

About a year ago, J. E. Nash, the "Socialist" candidate for Governor two years ago, who appealed for votes as a "union man," came to Fergus Falls, the county seat of this county, which has been the hot-bed of Populism since its first inception, and a local was organized, the leading lights being a lawyer, loan and real estate dealer, all in one, but at least a good reader and student, an editor of a small struggling Norwegian paper of a religious sentimental type, one ditto of an English paper, in same condition, but somewhat of the Ingelsollian Truthseeking species, a political fakir of long standing, one magnetic healer of "independent labor" movement fame, some small, very small middle classites, but, as far as I have been able to ascertain, not one a bona fide wage worker. The Rev. Carl Thompson, Walter Thomas Mills, and other shining lights, came from time to time to instruct and educate the persons not on to the mysteries of Socialism.

This summer a convention was held, where, among other things in the platform, the following was found:—"We admire and honor the struggles of the farmers as shown in the alliance, the grange and Populist movements," and nearly a full ticket was put up. Then the instruction and education of the votes commenced by the two papers above-mentioned, of which here is some samples:

By the Norwegian paper:
"The farmer is the class that will make the best ballot in the coming movement as they are yet practically independent and safe that they can view the situation with utmost calm. The workers in coal mines and many other places as a whole where people have a severe struggle for existence, cannot view things with coolness." . . . "The farmer is not yet starving; he is, therefore, necessary as the dependent ballast on the new ship that is to be launched."

As to tactics of same paper, a few weeks before election it announced that as their candidate for Judge of Probate had withdrawn, it wished to speak in favor of the candidate who, it claimed, ran independent, but who appeared on the official ballot as a Populist. The issue before election contained a letter in favor of a Republican County Commissioner, one for a Populist for same office, one for the above Judge of Probate, with picture, one political advertisement, with picture, for Republican candidate for Circuit Court Judge, one letter each for Clerk of Court and Sheriff, both independents, and one favorable editorial for the Democratic candidate for Governor.

By the English paper:
"Tolstoi is a Socialist. Tolstoi is the greatest man of this era." Editorial defence of the Republican candidate for Governor and when apparently taken to task, makes this defence:

"When we see a candidate of an opposing party being shamefully abused and vilified by his own party leaders, some of whom ought to be in the penitentiary, our rights as a man permits us to defend him. It should be remembered that a man's right and duties as a citizen are paramount to his party affiliation."

"The labor problem is becoming a nuisance. To labor employers and employees alike, the great middle class farmers, merchants, small manufacturers, etc., are all interested just as much as the laborers."

"These would be no strikes any more than there are strikes in the post office department at present."

Then it points to some matter showing the wonderful progress in New Zealand:

"Where workmen united with small farmers and tradesmen to elect Liberal Labor candidates pledged to the interest of the common people."

Among many benefits arrived at was: "Workmen, farmers, tradesmen, manufacturers of all classes, can borrow money from the State at four and one-half per cent." Also:

"Labor difficulties are settled by judicial decision."

The city ownership of the water works in Duluth is Socialism, according to this disciple of "Rev." Thompson and "Prof." Mills. He also believes in the class struggle, but of the GREAT middle class against the trust owners or large capitalist class, the working class being altogether unfit to participate.

I could send more such evidence of the kind of Socialism the ex-Populist voters were given here; and the same can be said of the entire lot here in this State. Now, is a crowd with such views and such practices worth fooling with? Is not Comrade Cox right when he says that there is less material for us in that party than in the others? Who wants to associate with such a crowd? I, for one, will not. They are simply a remnant of Populist-State capitalism. New Zealand-Glasgow idea of labor exploitation by the small busted or busting middle class. For once, I disagree with Comrade De Leon when he believes that among the Debs vote there were hundreds of thousands of men that voted for something that they believed to be Socialism. That there were such is possible; but that most of them believed that it was Populism they wanted and voted for, is evident from the bulk of the literature that I have seen; as well as the personnel of the crowd and leaders and the material conditions that influence them.

Fraternally,

C. W. Brandborg.

Henning, Minn., Jan. 9

III.

I have read with much interest the discussion going on under the above head, and although I did not at first have any intention of taking part in it, realizing full well that the columns of The People could be filled with matter more interesting and instructive than I could write; but when I read James Cullen's article I felt like speaking a word of endorsement of that article. It also was somewhat of a revelation to me. When Comrade Cullen describes the method of propaganda which he says has been carried on in New York for the past two years; when he says the New York comrades go to the S. D. P. meetings "for the purpose of breaking them up, by howling and yelling at the speaker," he tells of a state of affairs which I thought no longer existed nor had existed for the past two or three years, except in rare instances, and in such rare instances, by some brainless enthusiasts, as Comrade Cullen rightly calls them. I have at times noticed the braggadocio and bullying way some of the comrades have used in writing up reports of meetings and encounters with the S. D. P., I have always deplored such tactics.

What Comrade Cullen says in regards to the use of the term crook, I heartily endorse. I think the mission-ary who tells his hearers what they must do to be saved makes greater progress than the one who tells them what they must not do or they will be damned. I am not one of those who think that the S. L. P. holds all the Socialists. A mountain of prejudice is arrayed against us—and such actions as Comrade Cullen describes has helped to build it higher—and prejudice is a strong motive in men no matter how well intentioned. Let us cut out the bullying.

Now is the time for all to speak who have said that now, above all other times, let us keep our identity unsullied.

A. G. Allen.

Salt Lake City, Utah, Jan. 8.

IV.

I like Comrade Allen, of Salt Lake City, have also read with much interest the discussion on "Bulgaria or Italy?" Like him, also, I had no intention of taking part in it, but when I read Comrade Allen's letter, I felt that I had to answer it. I absolutely deny the statement of James Cullen that members of the S. L. P. are disturbing Kangaroo meetings. I agree with Comrade Allen that it is a proper thing to distribute literature and question S. D. P. speakers; but I do not see how Cullen comes to say that the members of the S. L. P. are disturbing S. D. P. meetings. According to my knowledge, it is the S. D. P. men who are disturbing our meetings, by yelling and howling as Cullen states. I know of no S. L. P. man who has ever

allowed himself to break up a kangaroo meeting. I have, however, witnessed many times, where S. D. P. members, believers in "free speech," have broken up our meetings. I think it is Cullen who stretches the truth now. Such actions as he describes are the actions of Kangaroos, not S. L. P. men.

As to the question "Are We At Bulgaria or Italy?" I agree with Comrade S. French, who places the center of the issue on the trades union policy. Let us educate and agitate everywhere and speed the day of revolution.

Harry Liroff.

N. Y. City, Jan. 20.

V.

We are neither at Bulgaria nor Italy, but in the United States, where factory labor, political privileges, improve machinery, etc., are entirely different from above countries. Since all political parties are fundamentally based on economic conditions, we cannot pattern a political organization in United States after that of a country where economic conditions are different.

If by the use of Bulgaria and Italy is meant unity and disunity, the blame of any division of the Socialist Movement in United States cannot be laid to the Socialist Labor Party for the S. L. P. was organized years before S. D. P. was heard of and as it is a voluntary democratic organization, there was no excuse to organize the S. D. P., only to sidetrack Marxian Socialism.

One of Debs' excuses for organizing the S. D. P. was because the S. L. P. was composed of too many foreigners yet we see his organization appealing to Socialists of foreign countries to lay the blame of disunity in United States on the S. L. P. which held and taught the class-struggle, the very first principle of a Socialist Movement when his organization denied its existence. When Marx wrote: Workmen of the world unite, he had in mind not only getting together but uniting class-consciously, i. e., with a knowledge of the class division in modern society. That is why he wrote "The emancipation of the working class must be the class conscious work of that class."

The point of discussion is how to unite the class conscious Socialists of the United States. Class consciousness is a matter of acquired knowledge. This means education along the lines of the class struggle. No doubt in States like Colorado and Massachusetts, where bogus labor candidates like Alva Adams add \$3.50 shoe W. Douglas ran and yet some workmen had the stamina (thinking the S. P. was what it represented itself to be, i. e., for Socialism) to vote the S. P. ticket showing that they are worthy material for the bona fide Socialist Labor Party. Also in cities like Toledo and Omaha, where the S. L. P. has no organization, men may be found who, if reached in time, will become militant Socialists.

We suggest that the N. E. C., as soon as it is able, have a history of the Socialist Movement of the United States compiled, showing the position of the S. L. P., its honest uphill fight for the principle of the class struggle, and the reactionary position of the S. P., its colonization scheme, its denial of the class struggle, its privately owned papers, its compromising with political parties of capitalism, its members belonging to the militia, etc. A history of this kind need only stick to easily substantiated facts. An abridged leaflet could be issued calling attention to same. This, put in the hands of any honest Socialist or S. P. member, should put him on the right track.

We further suggest that the N. E. C., S. E. C.'s and Sections send a trial subscription of The People to any S. P. Local that will keep it on file, especially in places where desirable material is supposed to exist and the S. L. P. has no Section, also individuals when thought worthy. Good judgment will have to be exercised along this line.

H. J. Schade.

Los Angeles, Cal., Jan. 10.

VI.

As a new convert to S. L. Pism from the Debs camp, I have been reading with intense interest the discussion running in The People, "Are We at Bulgaria or Italy?" After reading all these able contributions on the subject it seems preposterous that one should venture to add anything. Therefore I shall not attempt to add a new thought to the subject, but there are a few points which I think will bear emphasizing.

The mere suggestion of appointing a committee to work out plans for uniting the two parties is the height of tomfoolery.

Evolution does not move backward. The Socialist Labor Party is a politico-economic development, and as such can not be mixed, fused, dissolved, or destroyed.

If a novice enters a chemical laboratory and proceeds indiscriminately to mixing chemicals, he is apt to create an explosion which, if he survives, will teach him an important scientific fact, i. e., that there are certain elements

which will not form compounds with certain other elements.

Social elements are not greatly different in this respect from chemical elements. And the novice who attempts to unite the element S. L. P. with the compound S. D. P. plus S. P. plus U. L. P. plus etc., will precipitate a condition worse than "volcanic rumblings." It will be a modern Vesuvius in full eruption!

There are in the above mentioned compound quite a number of S. L. P. elements. Now, who will suggest the formula by which we can isolate those desirable elements? This, the keynote of Comrade Olive M. Johnson's first article which set the ball rolling, is the important point to be brought out in this discussion.

There is an adage which says, "Sweep your own doorstep first." Comrade Bohn has kindly offered us his broom—let's use it.

"Those members who would look upon the entire membership of the S. P. as kangaroos, must have been frequenting the haunts of Rip Van Winkle for the past five years." And again: "We have been guilty of condemning men for mere ignorance. A full fledged Socialist is not grown in a day or a month. To upbraid a man because he knows little of the vast subject of social science is rank stupidity." Now Cullen also has a splendid broom which sweeps well. We'll use it. "Is it absolutely necessary when reporting about an S. D. P. or an S. L. P. meeting to see how much personal abuse you can crowd in about members of the S. D. P.? Time after time these letters instead of giving useful information about the speaker go into details about his personal appearance and that of the audience."

I myself have read letters in which they criticize the speaker's gestures, garments, illiteracy, and, worse, his clothing!

I wondered why they did not find fault with his poverty.

Comrades, believe me, just such twaddle is often mistaken for S. L. P. tactics. It held me aloof for months after I was ripe for the party. I was glad to learn later that such slush is no part of S. L. P. tactics.

He who is armed with the S. L. P. escutcheon will discard such methods. Comrades, arm yourselves.

I have all due respect and admiration for the old-war horses who held the fort against the Kangs in the 90's, but it is time to drop those personal feuds. Sentimentalism, no matter what form it takes, has no place in scientific, revolutionary Socialism. Then, comrades, all aboard for Italy.

J. D. De Shazer.

Montrose, Colo., Jan. 18.

VII.

It is not without regret that I again take part in this controversy, for I would have rejoiced in the non-existence of the circumstances, which make this imperative. My motive to do so lies in the facts that in the course of the controversy the expression of personal sentiment has been substituted for sound reasoning, that some comrades, who apparently have not gone to the trouble to carefully analyze my statements—not to say to digest them—have for this very reason drawn therefrom indigestible conclusions and that in one case at least, probably by a carelessness hardly comprehensible and not excusable, I even have been misquoted.

I have ever held, that where men are joined in a common cause of vast importance, the "me too," the "follow the leader" men, too timid or too cautious to express a decided opinion, cannot but give rise to stagnation, the forerunner of decay, while the logical research and the free, untrammelled dispassionate discussion of principles, of needs must cause to circulate more freely the flow of the fluid of life in the veins of the body of the membership.

Living, I shall assert the right of "free discussion; dying, I shall assert it; and, should I leave no other inheritance to my children, by the blessing of God I will leave them the inheritance of free principles and the example of a manly and independent defence of them."

Before all, let us now carefully consider our standpoint, the attitude we should assume in regard to the acts of the International Congress. Nobody will deny that, before this body met, the membership of the Socialist Labor Party, as a whole, was fully aware as to the complexion it would assume, for which reason most probably Comrade De Leon was opposed to the sending of a delegate to Amsterdam. The comrades knew that the majority of the delegates at that congress would represent Socialistic parties in favor of opportunism, ministerialism, and the Lord knows what else; they knew that the S. D. P. would be recognized as a Socialistic party, and still they decided to be there represented also. Now I hardly think that this decision was arrived at in order to provide Comrade De Leon with a pleasant trip to Europe, or to satisfy

curiosity, to get rid of a bothersome surplus of cash. Surely, no one will contend that the party is bound to act in accordance with the resolutions of the Amsterdam Congress, but it does not intend to even consider them; why in God's wide world did it send a delegate? There is no logic in such a proceeding. The indignation of some of the comrades at the bare proposal to act in accordance with the "Unity Resolution" is really as incomprehensible, as the fear of others of contamination is ridiculous. One of the highly indignant comrades—I almost hate to call him comrade—Louis M. Wieder, is so shocked at the idea of a "Unity Committee" that he does not scruple to lower himself to a falsification of one of my statements. He quotes me as follows in the Daily People of December 8: "Those 600,000 Socialist votes cast for Debs were attracted to Socialism by the tactics of the Socialist Party and not by ours." What I said in the issue of December 6 was this: "Here are hundreds of thousands of men who voted for something they believed to be Socialism, that have been attracted by the tactics of a so-called Socialist party, and not by ours." This is an unintentional misquotation or is it a malicious falsification. Be it either. But the arguments based on such premises are totally devoid of any value whatsoever. It would be a waste of time even to consider them.

And now, on December 13, Comrade Michael T. Berry enters the controversy with a bit of sentiment, relating how my criticism impressed him much the same as the late lamented Josh Billings was struck by a lecture of Ingersoll's on "The mistakes of Moses." Well, if there ever was a Josh Billings—and such Josh Billings are about as scarce as hens' teeth, as I have good reason to believe from personal experience—who did give up five dollars for the sake of mental improvement, I am quite certain that he would not have expressed the desire to hear Moses at the price of \$500, if the great lawgiver had not been dead for a few thousands of years. Still Comrade Berry may be more sincere than I believe the late Josh Billings to have been, and as the copy of the Daily People containing my criticism only cost him two cents and the copy containing Comrade Johnson's criticism of my article the same amount, Comrade Berry is indebted to the Daily People office for the sum of \$1.98. A prompt remittance is in order, as funds at that location are always at low ebb.

But now the point. Comrade Berry regards as a merit of Comrade Johnson's article that "he did not advocate the creation of any 'Unity' Committee, such as is intimidated (intimated) in Comrade Ollendorff's reply."

I believe I am quite right if I understand the term "Unity Committee" as used by Comrade Berry and others as one designating a committee for the purpose of negotiating a union between the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic party, and of such a committee there is no mention whatsoever in my article. Not even the term is used by me. I said: "I fully recognize the dangers besetting us, entering the camp of the enemy, the bogus party, to drag forth our own, but I cannot see another way. I am not in favor of any 'flirting, association or compromise' with the Social Democratic party as it is to-day." Does that sound like the language of one who is in favor of union? Does one unite with the enemy? It is totally incomprehensible to me how any judicious, intelligent, careful reader can detect in my article the slightest leaning in favor of any "Unity Committee."

But I said: "But I am in favor of the appointment of a committee in accordance with the advice of the International Convention, for the purpose of exchanging views with a similar committee of the S. D. P. And I do not doubt but that our delegates, no matter who they be, will emerge from these meetings unscathed, and that their words at these meetings, if arrangements for a wide and proper publication can be made, will go far, very far, towards opening the eyes of the deluded followers of the backboned, before-the-fakirs-cringing leaders of the S. D. P."

And now let us see what this "Unity Resolution" says:

The Congress declares: "In order that the working class may develop its full strength in the struggle against capitalism, it is necessary there should be but one Socialist party in each country as against the parties of capitalists, just as there is but one proletariat in each country."

"From these reasons all comrades and all Socialist organizations, have the imperative duty to seek to the utmost of their power to bring about this unity of the party, on the basis of the principles established by the International Conventions; that unity which is necessary in the interests of the proletariat to which they are responsible for the disastrous consequences of the continuation of divisions within their ranks."

"To assist in the attainment of this aim, the International Socialist Bureau as well as all parties within the coun-

tries where unity now exists will cheerfully offer their services and cooperation."

Bebel,
Kautsky,
Enrico Ferri,
V. Adler,
Troelstra,
Vandervelde."

In the light of this resolution there exist two Socialist parties in the United States, for it was framed by a congress which seated the delegates of two parties from this country, claiming to be Socialistic. Furthermore, as far as I know, the delegates of neither party were instructed to protest against the admission and the seating of the delegates of either party, nor was this done, wherefore it was but the duty of the International Congress to recognize them both.

But the Socialist Labor Party denounces the Social Democratic Party—and rightly so—as a bogus party, and the S. D. P. returns the compliment by calling the S. L. P. a ring-ruler, moribund organization, inimical to trades-unionism.

Thus the cause of Socialism suffers, men become bitter, extreme, one-sided, and honest workmen are misled. But the International Congress has placed a mighty weapon in our hands. By electing a committee to defend our attitude, we can almost compel, under the unity resolution, the S. D. P. to also elect a committee for the same purpose, these committees to meet in joint open session. This is the committee which I advocate, and I do not doubt but that the deliberations of this committee could not but materially help the cause of true Socialism, S. L. P. Socialism. Certainly, the private owned press of the S. D. P. would, to a large extent, do its very best to influence its readers by garbled reports in favor of its own party, still I am satisfied that some of the papers, as for example, Ford's, would bring reports truthful or at least nearly so. Furthermore, these hundreds of young men and women "giving their strength and mind to the movement, honestly desirous of Socialism," as Comrade Johnson justly remarks of the S. D. P., would want to hear the other side, the S. L. P., by its own mouthpiece, the Daily People. The benefit eventually accruing from this alone, would be inestimable.

The fact is this:

The Socialist Labor Party, while it is the sole representative of true Socialism, does not represent all true Socialists. "Those comrades who would look upon the entire membership of the Socialist Party as Kangaroos, must have been frequenting the haunts of Rip Van Winkle for the past five years," Comrade Bohn pointedly remarks. But, because the Socialist Labor Party does not represent all true Socialists, therefore "that unity which is necessary in the interests of the proletariat" does not exist and it becomes the duty of the S. L. P. to establish the same, in order that the working class may develop its full strength in the struggle against capitalism." This the S. L. P. can do by defending its attitude, with both parties as an audience, and compelling the S. D. P. to do likewise, using as a means for cornering the shifty Kangaroo, if necessary the Unity Resolution: "To assist in the attainment of this aim, the International Socialist Bureau as well as all parties within the countries where unity now exists, will cheerfully offer their services and co-operation." The S. D. P., if we so wish, must defend its Socialism, if we attack it in the name of unity, and if it tries, what is not unlikely, to evade the issue, we can make it "stand up and deliver" by calling to our assistance such men as Bebel, etc., who offered their services for this purpose.

Is this flirting? I can only refer, "in common everyday English," if Comrade Fay will have it, to any standard dictionary,—he and any other comrade who should persist in calling it so. Is this method of reaching the honest men and women of the Social Democratic Party honorable? and if not, why not? Will Comrade Berry kindly explain?

To sum up:

First—Our attendance at the Amsterdam Congress puts upon us the moral obligation to take under consideration the recommendations of that body.

Second—Our tacit recognition of the Social Democratic Party as a Socialistic party at this congress bars us from the plea, as far as the participants of the congress are concerned, of not being affected by the Unity Resolution.

Third—The Social Democratic Party being a bogus party, acting under the Unity Resolution, does not mean to join hands with it, but to compel it to show itself in its true colors to its dupes, so that all true Socialists within its ranks will find their rightful place in the Socialist Labor Party.

I have nothing further to add, except that I hope the comrades will consider this proposition coolly and without prejudice, from one standpoint only: that of the welfare of the Socialist Labor Party.

G. Ollendorff.

Literary Review

THE SLAV INVASION AND THE MINE WORKERS.

An interesting little book issued by J. D. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, is the Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers, by Frank Julian Warne, Ph. D. The author presents the book as the result of a first-hand investigation of actual conditions in the anthracite coal fields of Northeastern Pennsylvania. While we cannot accept the general conclusions reached by the author, and while we think that he lays too much stress in his conclusions upon the racial feature, instead of considering it solely as a part of industrial development, nevertheless the facts that he presents are valuable, inasmuch as they show the rise and development of pure and simple trades unionism as well as of capitalist method in the anthracite coal industry.

I.

Coal mining in the Pennsylvania anthracite region began as early as 1820, but at that period, as in the beginning of all industry in the early stages of capitalism, production was limited, men skilled at the work were necessary and the supply of them was limited. Up until the close of the Civil War the line between operator and worker was not very distinctly drawn. The operator and miner were often one and the same person, but anyway, every operator had been a working miner. The Civil War, with its opportunities for furnishing the Government with big supplies, gave a wonderful impetus to the mining of capital, and when the war ended this capital was let loose and the coal regions offered an attractive field for investment. Railroads were soon extended to the mines, opening up a greater market than was possible by canal transportation. Up to this period the struggles most worthy of note in the region were those between individuals for the possession of coal lands and mines. And yet, though but in its infancy, we have evidences of the Class Struggle in the coal regions before the Civil War period, for the author tells us that as early as 1840 the differences between employers and employed led to the formation, particularly in the Schuylkill field, of an organization which, taking the name of a local leader, was called Bates Union. The author tells us nothing further of his union except that a strike for wages failed, dissensions arose among the members, their leader betrayed them and stole their funds—and thus ended the first attempt at anything like a general organization among the miners.

The next general attempt at organization was made about the close of the Civil War; prior to that there were, here and there, local organizations of the miners for "mutual protection." In 1868 we have accounts of a general convention of representatives from these local unions, they met to consider the general fall in prices and the problem of "over-production" in coal. Wages had been reduced in the previous year and further reductions were threatened. The increase in production had nearly doubled, as we read that in 1860 the total anthracite output was 8,500,000 tons, while in 1870 it exceeded 16,000,000 tons, then, too, bituminous coal was coming into more general use thus weakening the demand for anthracite. These were the conditions that the miners met to consider. It is significant that a year or two prior to this the operators had already formed co-operative associations in each of the three hard coal fields of the region, and when the first great struggle came these groups of employers were united under the Anthracite Board of Trade of the Schuylkill Coal Region, and it is through this board that the operators are first found treating with the mine workers as to wages and other conditions of employment. In the coal regions "individuality" was first lost by the operators. It is so in all industry, the capitalists first get together to keep down their workmen, with whom they wish to treat individually, until further developments bring them to the point where they will only deal with them collectively, but through the agency of union leaders whom they know to be "safe."

Up until 1880 the bulk of the mine workers were of the English-speaking people—Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Welshmen, and some Germans. At the 1868 convention the moving spirit was John Siney, who was destined to play an important part in the miners' organization, and to whose memory there stands in the little mining town of St. Clair, in Schuylkill county, a monument as a tribute to his seven years' leadership of the organization. Siney was first a bricklayer, and afterwards a worker in English cotton mills. He was, says the author, "thoroughly trained in the suc-

cessful methods of trades unionism in the Old Country." The English worker, as we Socialists know, was practically disfranchised, therefore, the only effective resistance he could make against his capitalist exploiter was through his economic organization, the trade union. In the early days of capitalism, when it was weak, this trades union resistance was more or less effective, but with the growth of capitalism for the worker to depend upon this weapon alone is useless, especially in this country where, by reason of the electoral franchise, the capitalist class cannot rule except by the consent of the working class.

The 1868 convention of miners, having no other side of working class tactics than those they had brought with them from Great Britain, proceeded to apply such ideas and policy to the situation that confronted them. Siney argued that it was the over-production that caused the fall in prices and led to wage reductions, and that the thing to do was to control the production instead of striving by the strike to restore wages once these conditions had forced them down. Based upon this wrong conception of the cause of the trouble was organized the workmen's Benevolent Association, which was afterward known under a charter as the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association. Its constitution set forth as its objects: to maintain a standard of wages, to provide for sick and disabled miners, and to care for their widows and orphans. As an evidence of how crude was their conception of the real nature of the struggle between themselves and the operators we may quote Article I., of the constitution of the Summit Hill branch, which stated that "the object of the society is to make such arrangements as will enable the operator and the miner to rule the coal market," an expression of the idea of the so-called unity of interests between the capitalists and the wage workers which in pure and simple unionism survives to this day.

Socialists know, from a vast experience, how persistently the leaders of pure and simple unions shut off all criticism of their own actions, and of trades union policy, when an avowed Socialist does the criticizing, by appealing to the "no politics in the union" clause which they generally have in their constitutions. The clause is to the effect that neither a man's politics nor religion is affected by his joining the union. This may be styled the great sacred principle of such trades unionism and it is one that has worked woe to the working class. As stated before, owing to universal suffrage in this country the capitalist class cannot rule without the consent of the working class, and through the political ignorance of the workers, due to the influence of pure and simple trades unionism, the workers hand over to their exploiters the power which is used to crush themselves. But despite their "no politics in the union" cry the labor leaders are forever dabbling in capitalist politics and thus directing the attention of the workers away from working class politics. The law books are plastered over with labor laws, most of them stamped by the court N. G., and to-day we have an A. F. of L. Gompers seeking an eight-hour law at the hands of Republican-Democratic capitalism; postal employees petitioning for higher wages and urging the political defeat of congressional candidates they consider inimical to their interests, and so on and so on. Thus it is of interest to notice that the first strike of the miners under the Workmen's Benevolent Association was declared July 1, 1868, for the enforcement of a political measure—the State eight-hour law, which had just then been enacted by the Legislature through the efforts of the miners, and which the operators refused to obey. The strike failed, but the author does not state whether the troops were called out to support the violators of the law, as was done years after by Governor Flower, of New York, when the switchmen struck at Buffalo to enforce a State ten-hour law. The author correctly sees in this eight-hour strike of the miners a move in their efforts to curtail coal production which they considered was the thing to be done for their own salvation. The strike failed and what curtailment there was was due to the suspension of labor during the strike. In May of the following year "over-production" was as bad as ever, the operators thought the time to further reduce wages had come, but the workers suspended work for five weeks.

This suspension resulted in the adoption of the famous "sliding scale." It was an agreement that the wages of miners in the Lehigh and Schuylkill fields should be regulated by the selling price of coal. The Wyoming field men had not suspended work, being induced by higher wages to stay in, so they were

not a party to the agreement. This action of the Wyoming men show how far the idea of the solidarity of labor had penetrated among the coal miners. The Wyoming field men are, however, the backbone of the union to-day, as will be shown further on. To better understand the "sliding scale" we will quote the author: "At this time contract miners working on the mammoth vein were receiving fifty-seven and one-half cents a ton (forty-eight cubic feet); company miners (those working by the day), sixteen dollars a week; and inside laborers fourteen dollars a week. For the Lehigh fields these wages were to prevail when coal sold for five dollars a ton at tide-water (Elizabethport), with an increase of fifteen per cent. for every one dollar advance above that price. In the Schuylkill field Port Carbon was the basing point and three dollars a ton the selling price of coal; for every twenty-five cents increase over this price wages were to advance five cents a ton. Wages were not to be affected if the price at either basing point fell below the basis rate." For the rest of 1869 by this sliding scale arrangement the miners received twelve per cent. more than the basis wages.

Of course, this didn't suit the operators, for in 1870 they proposed that the Schuylkill field basis be made two dollars a ton, equivalent to from twenty-five to forty per cent. reduction in wages which the workers refused to consider. The operators offered to improve their proposition somewhat, but still insisting on a wage reduction; the workers refused to recede from their position and on April 2 the Schuylkill operators closed down until August 1. The miners in the Lehigh and Wyoming fields continued in operation. In July an agreement was reached, the three dollar basis was to remain, but with an eight and one-quarter per cent. sliding scale for a movement of twenty-five cents in the price of coal, whether above or below the basis. The price of coal soon went below the basis and remained there. The workers had evidently figured on the price going up, but it went down and they agreed to accept the consequences of its going down, so they suffered the reduction in wages. Out of this Schuylkill lockout came, says the author, what is believed to be the first signed joint agreement in the history of coal-mining in this country. It was signed July 29, at Pottsville, between a committee of the Workmen's Benevolent Association, for the miners, and a committee of the Anthracite Board of Trade, for the operators. The union agreed not to stand by a man discharged for "incompetency," "bad workmanship," "bad conduct," or "other legitimate cause." Each man was to work regularly; and mines earning designated amounts above one hundred dollars a month, excluding expenses, were to be reduced from ten to forty per cent. The operators agreed not to discharge any man or officer for actions or duties imposed upon him by the union. The president of the Board of Trade and the president of the Association of Schuylkill County were to meet on the twentieth day of each month and select five operators from a list of those shipping over 40,000 tons annually and on their statement of prices at Port Carbon the rate of wages were to be fixed for each month.

But the "over-production" continued, prices fell and wages were lowered until as the author tells us "the leaders found it impossible to control the mine workers, and they went out on a strike at the beginning of 1871, the entire anthracite region being involved." The Wyoming field men were drawn in, not on account of the sliding scale for it had never been in force there, but because they were face to face with a proposed reduction in wages equivalent to thirty-four per cent. on contract work. The Schuylkill field operators attempted to treat directly with the strikers but failed. Then they began the importation of new men which was followed by "riots" and the calling out of the State troops. The author says the strikers got possession of the arms of the soldiers and marched to every mine where work had been resumed with non-union men and compelled a suspension of operations. On April 17 Eckley B. Cox, an operator at Drifton, and President Siney, of the union, brought together a joint committee of miners and operators to arbitrate the questions at issue. The sliding scale and recognition of the union proved stumbling blocks, but Judge William Elwell was selected as umpire and on his decisions work was resumed for the Schuylkill field, the sliding scale was to be one cent for each three cents' rise and fall in the price of coal, with a two dollar and seventy-five cent basis, but if the price fell below two dollars and twenty-five cents there was to be no further fall in wages. As before coal kept going down and local strikes followed, the leaders not being able to

hold the men to their "agreement," but for two or three years quiet prevailed throughout the region—the quiet before the storm.

II.

The author points out that only once were the mine workers of all three districts united in a common cause; nor were the operators a unit. While as a class the operators had organized the Anthracite Board of Trade, a number of Wyoming field operators held aloof and were ready to profit by the troubles in the other fields, this lack of solidarity on the part of miners made possible. But now entered a new and great factor, which was to affect both the operators and the workers, this was the railroads. The disturbances in the coal regions had made the carrying of coal very uncertain, and the railroads could not depend on a regular revenue from it. The Reading began to buy up coal lands and enter upon mining operations. This road had entered the region in 1842 and when it began to buy the coal lands other roads were coming in and competing for the traffic. When the operators started to resume in 1871, the Reading raised its rates treble at one bound. The mines closed down and coal went up to unheard-of figures. To allay public excitement a legislative committee was appointed which made a favorable report as to the legality of what the road had done. The operators were forced to sell and to-day there is but a handful of "independent" operators in the entire region. The union now was confronted with a powerful and most unscrupulous foe.

Evidently the new order decided that unionism should be stamped out and no means were spared toward that end. The organization itself was a weakly constructed one, and dissensions were rife among the locals of the different districts. The men of one field complained that they could not place any faith in the men of another and we have no doubt that the railroads fostered this state of affairs. Siney seems to have held them together better than anything else, but in 1873 he was elected to the presidency of the Miners' National Association. The author hints that those who followed him allowed the organization to become a football for the capitalist political parties. Anyway the work of the railroads in reducing the operators and the workers went on apace, murders were committed, breakers were burned, and these were laid at the door of the miners' organization by the railroads and by a "public opinion" which they, no doubt, had manufactured.

The author says these deeds were the work of the "Mollie Maguires," a secret, oath-bound organization which flourished in the region from 1866 to 1876, and with which the union had no direct connection, though some of the union men are said to have belonged to the "Mollies." The "Mollie Maguires," he tells us, were principally Irish and were really the Ancient Order of Hibernians. None but Catholics were eligible to membership and yet despite the opposition of the Church and its priests in the anthracite region it flourished for ten years. The author makes the statement in a foot note as follows: "Its secret meetings, which planned murder and incendiarism, were conducted with solemn religious rites, and its vengeance seemed to be directed mainly against mine superintendents and bosses." With our knowledge of Standard Oil dynamiting of rival concerns, of railroads burning old cars in time of strikes, and many more such instances we venture the opinion that the "Mollie Maguires" were not distasteful to the railroads and we suspect that the men hanged as criminals may have conveniently been "connected" with the "Mollies" by the railroad interests who were anxious to be rid of them. In 1875 the new order felt strongly enough entrenched to venture a reduction in wages from ten to twenty per cent. On January 1 a six months' strike began in the Lehigh and Schuylkill fields. At the end the miners made a complete surrender to the terms of the operators. The union disappeared, and the railroads were free for twenty-five years or more to give the independent operators their medicine.

VII.

The English-speaking miners had developed a common standard of living and having a more or less common knowledge of the English language they could compare their standard of living with that of workers in other occupations and outside of the mining regions, but after the overthrow of the union a new element was introduced in the coal regions—the Slav. They began to drift in after the strike of 1875. The rail-

roads found them more docile than the old men, and, as we have learned often before, they, no doubt, stimulated the emigration of the Slavs, to which the steamship companies lend ready assistance by setting forth the "grand prospects" that await the worker who comes to these shores. The term "Slav," as the author points out, has come to be applied to certain nationalities from Southern Europe. The real Slavs are the Slovaks, Croatsians, Servians and Slovenes. The Lithuanians, who constitute a large proportion of the "foreign" element in the three anthracite fields, are not Slavs, nor are they Poles, nor the Roumanians. In 1880 there were, according to the census of that year, 1386 "natives of Poland" in the Schuylkill field, in 1890, 5337. In 1890 of all those peoples designated as Slavs there were in the Schuylkill field 16,875 persons. In 1900 their total number was 32,208; and in that year in the whole region they numbered 89,328, and this stream of labor into the region is not abating.

As the Slav entered the region the English-speaking miners ceased coming here and those here faded away as surely as did the Indian before the white man. The Irish show the greatest loss. This is explained by the author as due, partly to the determined efforts of the operators to force the Irish in particular out of the industry as they had always been the quickest to resent oppression and were always the most "troublesome." How effectively the English-speaking miners are being driven out will be seen when it is stated that in 1890 they formed ninety-three per cent. of the foreign-born population in the Schuylkill field, while to-day they constitute but forty-four per cent. Census reports, State Mine Inspectors reports, railroad and other statistics which the author has examined, all show that the English-speaking miner will soon be a thing of the past.

The Irish, English, Welsh, Scotch and German mine workers, despite their lack of solidarity had, before the coming of the Slav, managed to wrest from the employers enough in wages to enable them to live in a certain degree of comfort. They liked their home life, liked to see their families neat and were ambitious for their children. Later arrivals being of the same races were quickly absorbed and soon made to conform to the prevailing standard. In marked contrast to all this is the Slav. He generally comes from an agricultural environment barely supplying food, clothing and shelter. The first arrivals came alone.

Without knowing why, he is drawn into the anthracite region and put to work, he is berded in a shanty or is at liberty to build a shack. The habits of his previous life stick to him. He is saving. The author found men to whom the total cost of living was not over four dollars a month. With a wage of thirty dollars a month they can save twenty dollars. Of the Slavs who are married the author compares their store expenses with the English-speaking miner's family. The latter ranged from \$18 to \$72 per month and averaged \$40 per month, the Slav's family ranges from \$2.41 to \$10.97, and averages \$6.63 per month. The Slav wives do manual labor, picking coal from the culm-banks, carrying driftwood and in many other ways help lessen the family cost of living. The Slav woman goes barefooted in the street and her garments are only to cover her. But the Slav with a family can become infected with the desire for better conditions and then he is ready to pass into what is left of the English-speaking group. But the Slav without a family is the most abject creature of all.

The author calls attention to a very important result that the lack of solidarity among the mine workers had upon the skilled and unskilled. Before becoming a miner it is necessary for a worker to have some experience as a laborer in the mines. When the Slav first came it was not only the mining companies that gave him welcome. Under the contract system in vogue in many mines the skilled miner was also able to draw advantages from Slav labor. The English-speaking miner, had he stood against the Slav, might have saved the day, not only for the English-speaking laborer, but for himself as well, for in time the Slav became a miner and as he had been a cheaper laborer so he was a cheaper miner.

IV.

It is interesting to learn how, in the face of all these difficulties, the United Mine Workers managed, in 1898, to get a foothold in the district. Of course, the Slav invasion was not unresisted by the English-speaking miners, but it was the Southern field that was first overwhelmed and many of the old Southern

PLATFORM

Adopted at the Eleventh National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, July 1904.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

field men moved North. The field from which he came was bleak, dry, barren and almost devoid of any of Nature's attractions. The Wyoming Valley he found beautifully blessed with the gifts of nature. The Northern miner had strong ties binding him to the soil, he had a home he would not willingly leave and when the Slav invasion began to threaten his home various methods of defense were adopted to keep the Slav out. The Legislature was induced to pass laws such as requiring a laborer to work in that capacity two years before becoming a miner, and making it necessary to pass an examination before a Miner's Examining Board before being allowed to work as a miner. But still the Slav came in and the last stand made by the old timers was at its most critical period when the new force came in. It was the U. M. W. fresh from its victory of 1897 in the soft coal fields. The English-speaking mine workers joined it as an instrument of defense against the Slav, and so rapidly had they got in that they forced the strike of 1900. Not only did the strike movement start in the Northern district, but the demands of the miners mentioned grievances that the Slavs could not appreciate the need of remedy for. On the first day of the strike the Northern field became idle, but it was hard work to get out any of the Slavs in the Southern field. Indeed, remarks the author, had it not been for the great political interests at stake the strikers, in spite of their organization, might have failed utterly. The leaders of the Republican party, fearful that the strike might have a bad effect upon the election, induced the railroad presidents to grant some of the demands of the men. That gave the U. M. W. a firm foothold in the district. The Slav shared in the advance gained, then he became interested in maintaining it, so that in the 1902 strike he was as good a unionist as the English-speaking worker, and this time the strike was for an increase of wages and reduction of hours for ALL workers in and about the mines.

In the main the Slav population at the mines is Catholic, so greatly Catholic that the operators would like to cut out about twenty-eight of their church days which are observed faithfully. Fifteen Congregational churches have fallen away in the hard coal regions. At Shenandoah four once flourishing and largely attended Welsh churches are all but disband and the Irish Catholics are complaining that their church is falling away. St. Patrick's Day, which used to be the celebration of the year within the region, is a tame day now. The Catholics bring their parochial school with them, and whether such forms of schools are good or bad, some of these have one particularly bad feature—they teach no English to their pupils, public school teachers report the Slav children are as bright as any others. The author sees cause for alarm in the Slavs as a political factor, he thinks they cast the votes that are counted for the Socialist party and the Socialist Labor Party in the district. A few Slavs may vote for Socialism, but we are inclined to the opinion that it is the old inhabitants who have been through the capitalist mill who are doing that. By the author's own showing the Slavs who vote are tools of Republican and Democratic politicians.

We are not averse to the Slavs voting for Socialism, on the contrary, we would welcome their adherence to our cause as quickly as that of any other worker, the fact is simply that we do not think they are voting for Socialism yet. Socialism, which, we can see from a reading between the lines, the author fears is something to be dreaded.

The strongest bond in the region to-day, he thinks, is the bond of unionism, but how effective it will prove when the present eased-up conditions pass the author does not venture to say. His plea is not for the retention of the English-speaking miners, their supremacy is past, but he does think that such supplantings should be done with less injury to the supplanted, but most not capitalism have its pound of flesh and have it quickly? What cares it for consequences? The author fails to note the large part played in the 1902 strike by the soft coal interests other than to show that the Pennsylvania road was more than compensated by the increased soft coal traffic. The book contains an account of the part played by President Roosevelt in the 1902 strike. And his final conclusion is that unrestricted immigration had better be looked after.

J. H.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-4 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.
National Secretary, P. O. Box 380, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.
2-4 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency).
Notice: For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in plain type by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

THE BOHN AGITATION TOUR.

The National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, calls upon the members, friends and sympathizers of the Party to help sustain, by such weekly or monthly contributions as they can make, the work of agitation and organization now carried by Comrade Frank A. Bohn.

The organizer has now been on the road for quite some time and the experience made has been that the time is more than favorable for continuous, uninterrupted effort. The working class is in ferment, eager to learn and often hungry for our teaching. We must not withhold it from them for the sake of the few dollars it will take to conduct that work. Send in your dimes and quarters and dollars. Try to interest your friends and shopmates. Collect some money on payrolls for this fund. Contribute small sums at regular intervals if you can, in short, resort to whatever method seems feasible and will bring results. Thus far the fund has done quite well, but it should be better. It will do better if more men and women take time and help contribute and collect.

The volcano of the American Labor movement is rumbling and is often in eruption. We can help along and increase the pressure by increasing our activity, spread our press and literature, build up our organization, and furnish the means to do all these things with.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P. Henry Kuhn, National Sec'y.

BOHN DATES FOR COLORADO.

Denver, Feb. 16-23; Colorado Springs 23-25; Pueblo, Feb. 25 to March 3; Florence, 7-8; Delta, 8-10; Montrose, 10-12; Grand Junction, 12-15.

Members and readers of the Weekly People take notice. Help to make Comrade Bohn's tour in this State successful in the fullest sense of the word.

Martin Hurwitz,

Acting Secretary, S. E. C.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with February 11, the following amounts were received in support of the above fund:

Q. J. Hughes, New York (on \$1 monthly pledge for Jan. and Feb.)	\$2.00
Mrs. Clara Brouer, Hartford, Conn.	1.00
F. Clark, New Brighton, N. Y.	.50
Carl Held, New York	1.00
John Plamondon, New York	1.00
N. Bourdon, Holyoke, Mass., Mass.	.25
Sam A. D., New York	1.00
Section Pittsburgh, Kans. per Bohn	5.00
A. Bohn, commission on literature and subs.	.50
George Abelson, New York	.50
Miss A. E. Berger, New York	.50
Irvin H. Burns, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Lewis F. Alritz, Schenectady, N. Y.	1.00
M. Georgewitch, Schenectady, N. Y.	1.00
Mo. E. C.	10.00
Total	\$26.05
Previously acknowledged	296.62
Grand total	\$312.67

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

IMPORTANT FOR DENVER.

Frank A. Bohn, who is making a tour of the West as National Organizer of the Socialist Labor Party, will deliver an address at West Denver Turn Hall, Twelfth and Larimer streets, on Wednesday, February 22, (Washington's birthday), at 3 p. m. In connection with this meeting an entertainment will be given.

Workingmen and women are invited to attend.

Admission Free.

In the evening of the same day and at the same hall, a dance will be held by Section Denver. Come and spend a few pleasant hours and help make it a success. Tickets, 25 cents.

CANADIAN N. E. C.

Regular meeting of N. E. C. at London, January 27, Comrade Maxwell in chair. Craig absent and excused. Minutes adopted as read.

Correspondence: From Henry Kuhn, National Secretary of S. L. P. of U. S.; re action of convention re advertising The People. Advertising in capitalists newspapers could not be considered on account of cost. Posters would be considered. From Henry Kuhn, enclosing receipt for \$14.40 received for the Amsterdam Special Assessment stamps. Received and filed. From H. Kuhn, suggesting that N. E. C. write to R. J. Kerrigan, Montreal, in reference to organization of a Section. Same was received. Secretary reported having acted upon suggestion from Chas. A. V. Kemp, organizer of Section Toronto, regarding matters and enclosing vote on seat of N. E. C. and amendments. Same was

received and accepted. From Wm. Griffiths, Organizer of Section Vancouver, ordering 50 due stamps, \$2.50 money order and inquiry about W. P. Evans. Same was received and matter regarding W. P. Evans looked into. From John Pearce, Organizer of Section London, notifying the N. E. C. that Section London expelled F. J. Dureh for accepting nomination for municipal office on a ticket other than the Socialist Labor Party. Received and filed. From Thomas Barker, Organizer of Section Vancouver, sending \$2.50 money order for 50 due stamps and the list of officers elected for the ensuing year. Received and filed.

Secretary reported having replied to W. M. Griffiths and Thomas Barker of Vancouver and R. J. Kerrigan of Montreal.

Secretary was ordered to write Winnipeg, Hamilton and Toronto, in reference to party affairs; also to write to and send leaflets to Bert Roberts, S. S. Thomas and to A. Benton of South-west.

As time has expired the Secretary was ordered to proceed and tabulate vote on amendments and seat of N. E. C. at once.

W. D. FORBES,

Recording Secretary.

STATE COMMITTEES AND SECTIONS, TAKE NOTICE!

UP TO DATE, THERE HAVE BEEN NO RETURNS ON THE N. A. F. MATTER WORTH MENTION AND IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO GO AHEAD WITH IT. THUS, POSTPONEMENT OF THE FINAL DATE BECOMES INEVITABLE. A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE WILL BE CALLED AT ONCE AND AN- NOUNCEMENT MADE IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE WEEKLY PEOPLE AS TO THE ACTION TAKEN.

SECRETARY.

A CINCINNATI INVITATION.

Section Cincinnati S. L. P. wishes to extend an invitation to the readers of the Daily and Weekly People and also to the members and sympathizers of the Party to attend a dance, to be held on Saturday evening, March 4, 1905, at Odd Fellow's Temple, Seventh and Elm streets.

Now that the time is ripe for the carrying on of our propaganda among the members of the working class, it is to be hoped that any and all persons residing in Cincinnati, Newport, Corington and vicinity who are interested in spreading the influence of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, will be on hand to aid the Section in its initial endeavor to raise the sinews to carry on the fight against the capitalist system.

Tickets can be secured from F. Steinbach, 1500 Elm street, from all party members and also at the door of the Hall on the evening of the Dance.

Admission 25 cents.

Entertainment Committee.

PHILADELPHIA IN FOR WORK.

The members of Section Philadelphia are hereby notified to be on hand early at the meeting of February 19, at Fraternity Hall, 1836 Germantown avenue. The meeting will start at 2.30 P. M. A Mixed Alliance, S. T. & L. A., will be organized after the section adjourns. Now is the opportunity for us to take up the Trades Union Question and organize the workingmen. So be on hand and take part in the great work.

Edmund Seidel,

Organizer.

LETTER BOX.

Continued from page 5.

T. R. G. WICHITA, KANS.—There will be no "special issue" or edition of The People containing the letters on the Chicago Manifesto. These will be published in the Daily on two or three days in the week, if they come in much faster, then, possibly, every day. They will be published in the order of their dates. As many of those published in the Daily, as can conveniently go into the next Weekly, will go in there. Possibly, if too many are banked up from the Daily, off and on a Weekly may have to be issued with two more pages—at all points, just as was done in the matter of the recent Bulgaria-Italy dispute.

T. W. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Be sure to have a black-board on the 17th.

TO PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS EVERYWHERE, EUROPE AND AUSTRALIA INCLUDED—You are requested to forward to this office copies of the platform and constitutions of your respective unions. A complete set, is wanted in this office.

J. F. TACOMA, WASH.; G. A. D. ST. LOUIS, MO.; H. J. B. FLORENCE, COLO.; W. A., ST. LOUIS, MO.; E. C. I. WACO, TEX.; F. F. PITTSBURG, KANS.; O. S. CHICAGO, ILL.; T. H. N. CHICAGO, ILL.; I. D. INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; E. T. NEW YORK; N. A. W. ROANOKE, VA.; F. C. O. LONDON, ENGL.; N. V. K. ANTWERP, BELGIUM; C. R. BOISE CITY, IDA.; H. A. NEW YORK; C. T. V. K. BRACONDALE, ONT.; T. B. INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; J. H. T. J. CANTON, O.; Matter received.

WHAT IS CAPITAL?

(By FERDINAND LASSALLE.)

(Continued.)

The market price of a product oscillates like a pendulum, but with great irregularities, and its many changes very often have unpleasant and ruinous consequences for the individual capitalist; for he may be forced to sell his wares when prices are low and may not be able to place his wares on the market when prices are high. But this only concerns the individual; the capitalist class, as a class, is not affected by it; for it is at such times that the smaller capitalists are crushed, and the supremacy of large capitals over small capitals is established.

As regards capital, these oscillations in prices compensate one another on the average, and not a single hour of labor, not one drop of the sweat of the worker is lost to capital; they are all paid back to capital by the consumer. If this be the position of the capitalists as regards the consumer, what is it that determines the proportion of the proceeds of the product which shall come to the worker? What is it that determines and settles the wages of the worker?

Under the present system of production the average wages are limited by an iron law to the necessary means of subsistence, to the minimum of food, etc. This has been disputed by certain political economists. In opposition, they assert that the price of labor is regulated by the demand for it. The people who assert this look upon labor as they do upon any other kind of merchandise or wares, its price is determined by demand and supply. But what is it that regulates, that determines, the market price between demand and supply? As we have already seen this is determined by the cost of production. There is only one measure for everything that comes on the market, whether it be Chinese porcelain, American cotton, assafetida, Circassian slave-girls, or European workers; that measure is to be found in the demand for and the supply of the article, and the average relation of demand and supply is ultimately determined by the cost of production.

How much, then, does it cost to produce a worker? Evidently just so much as is required to enable another worker to obtain the absolutely necessary means of subsistence for himself and his family. Give him this and he will provide the wages for fast enough, though not solely, perhaps, for the capitalist's sake, and will not even require to be tempted by a profit, as do the producers of other wares. In short, wages under free competition, or the cost of production of labor, consists solely in the cost of producing workers.

Where it is customary to employ children in the factories, then a fresh calculation is made. It is very soon found that the father does not require the means of subsistence, say, for a family of average number, but can do with less as the children themselves contribute towards their own support.

It requires no explanation to show that of all producers the seller of labor is most unfavorably situated under the system of competition. Where would the seller of other wares be if they could not keep their produce back when the demand was slack? The seller of labor cannot do this. He must sell. Hunger compels him. Further, when the price of labor rises, it only makes the lot of the workers ultimately worse, for it brings about an increase in the number of workers. Neither need we explain how it is that no charitable employer can alter this. Whoever attempts to do so is struck down by the dagger of competition.

Under free competition, the relation of an employer to the employed is the same as to any other merchandise. The worker is work, and work is the cost of its production. This is the leading feature of the present age. In former times the relations were those of man to man; after all, the relations of the slave-owner to the slave, and of the feudal lord to the serf, were human. The relations in former times were human, for they were those of rulers to be ruled; they were relations between one man and another man. Even the ill-treatment of the slaves and serfs proves this; for anger and love are human passions; and those ill-treated in anger were still treated as men. The cold, impersonal relation of the employer to the employed, as to a thing which is produced like any other ware on the market, is the specific and thoroughly inhuman feature of the Middle Class Age. The Middle Class hate the idea of a State; they would replace the State by a Middle Class society permeated with free competition; for in a State workers are still treated as men, while under the Middle Class regime the workers are like any other merchandise, and they are only taken into consideration according to the cost of production.

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

PATERSON LECTURE.

Pateron—At Belvidere Hall, Sunday, February 19, at 3 p. m. Subject, "Attitude of Political Parties towards the Labor Question" by John Vaughn.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Three hundred subs to the Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, Feb. 11th. It is better to keep up to the 300 mark than to fall below it, but why not climb up a little higher? Why not 400 a week? It takes time for the comrades to pull themselves together, but there are indications that they are doing so now. If we all get down to work as quickly as possible, the circulation of the Weekly People can be greatly increased. The necessity should be explained to every member, especially new members, of getting readers for our party organ.

F. J. Finert of Kirksville, Mo. sends money order for 50 cents and writes: "I believe my subscription expires in March and, having been a reader of your splendid paper for nearly a year, I would not be without it." This subscriber's comments are like many others. We only say to them, if you consider that the Weekly People is doing valuable work, get your friends and acquaintances interested in it and make them readers also.

Comrade C. W. Ensign of Rotterdam Junction, N. Y., remits \$3 to pay for six yearly subs and writes that he expects to get more later.

Comrade Tobin of Attleboro Falls, Mass. also sends in six subs.

Fred Brown sends in seven for Cleveland, Ohio. Frank Bohn, sends in six from Kansas.

Carl Oberhen of Milwaukee sends in five. His section has been sending in quite a number of subs lately. Let every section fall in line.

Comrade Oberding of Trenton, Ill., sends a dollar to pay for sample copies of the issue of Feb. 11, containing Robert Randall's speech in the convention denouncing Mitchell. They will be sent to members of the United Mine Workers organization, Wm. Veal of Collinsville, Ill., takes 100 of the same issue to circulate among the miners in his locality. Comrades Ben Frankford of East St. Louis, Ill., and N. M. Hensberg of Jersey City, each take 100 copies.

Up to Feb. 11, we have received orders for 1,391 extra copies of this issue. Remember that you can have the Daily People mailed to your address one month for 40 cents, or three months for \$1.

Three months' subs for the Weekly must be written on the blanks provided for that purpose. If you need more blanks, ask for more when sending in subs. The fund now amounts to \$107.05, 55 cents having been received and \$10.05 used up during the past week.

The following suggestions are made in order to facilitate the handling of correspondence: DONT—

Address letters intended for The People or Labor News Co. to any individual or employee connected with the institution. DONT—

Make checks or money orders intended for the Daily People or Labor News Co. payable to individuals or employees. DONT—

Mix up in one and the same letter, business pertaining to the National Executive Committee, editorial and business office of The People, the Labor News Co. and sundry other things.

Reason—We have no army of clerks to make extracts and distribute among the various offices; time is money and life is short. Each office wants its correspondence on file for future reference; but if you persist to cram all in one letter, only one can have the original. Remedy.—At least write on separate sheets of paper matters intended for each of the following:

N. E. C.
People Editorial office.
People Business office.
Labor News Literature Department.
Labor News Job Printing Department.
and properly address each sheet. DONT forget this.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

A splendid lot of orders were received last week, particularly from the West, and they are ordering the proper thing, too:

San Francisco takes 200 "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" and 150 other pamphlets; Los Angeles takes 100 "Burning Question" in a \$9.10 order; Tacoma orders 80 pamphlets, including 50 "Burning Question;" Butte, Mont., orders 100 "Burning Question" and 20 "Two Pages from Roman History;" Minneapolis wants 100 "Burning Question;" Denver orders 2 "Women Under Socialism" and 50 "Burning Question;" Troy, N. Y., takes 50 "Burning Question;" Comrade Offen, of Palmyra, N. Y., gets 25 "Burning Question;" Fall River, Mass., orders 60 pamphlets, including 24 "Burning Question;" Syracuse, N. Y., takes 33 "Burning Question" and "The Gold Sickle" and "The Infant's Skull." San Jose Cal., ordered 50 of the "Bus-aw" pamphlets.

Now for the Sue books. We made a very good start: Cleveland took 25 of "The Gold Sickle" and 25 "The Infant's Skull." Comrade Dehly, of Seattle took 10 "Infant's Skull" and 10 "Gold Sickle;" Indianapolis took 6 of each; Buffalo, 5 of each; Minneapolis, 3 of each; Schenectady, N. Y., 3 of each; and Detroit, 2 "Gold Sickle." There were a large number of orders for one of each, some being accompanied by small orders for pamphlets or leaflets, but these are the principle orders.

Now let everybody hustle for these historical books. They merit it. Some comrade in every section should make it his special work to sell the Sue books.

Don't forget that the literature on the Paris Commune should be going out at this time.

HOW TO GET SUBSCRIBERS.

To aid the Weekly People extend its circulation; order a bundle for distribution among your friends. Rates for small bundles are as follows:

5 copies, 3 months	\$0.65
5 copies, 6 months	1.30
5 copies, 1 year	2.50
10 copies, 3 months	1.30
10 copies, 6 months	2.50
10 copies, 1 year	5.00
25 copies, 3 months	3.25
25 copies, 6 months	6.25

Large bundles:
100 copies or over, 3-4 cents a copy.
500 copies or over, 1-2 cent a copy.

One of these copies distributed judiciously for a few weeks, will enable you to secure a new subscriber easily. Try the bundle order idea.

UNIONISM AND POLITICS.

(Continued from page 1.)
much as its political exponent disgraces the word "Socialism."—And, conversely, again, it will be found that the economic organization that is reared upon this plan and conducts itself by such a rule, has for its political exaltation the only exaltation that can possibly proceed from such a mephitic stomach—a "Socialist" party of broken sword, at whose councils the capitalist in the field-marshal's tent of capitalism is represented by his labor-lieutenants, drilled in his interest in his guild countercamps in front.

Let's now bring the test to the touchstone of the St. Louis so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, municipal platform. One of its planks will do for all the rest. It reads: "No persons shall be employed on any street railway within the city of St. Louis who have not been resident citizens for at least one year prior to the time of their employment."

The plank was admirably punctured, as a political declaration, by the Helena, Mont., "News", who, alluding to the pretences of "International Socialism" set up in the platform, points to the contradiction of "capitalist citizenship," advocated in the said plank. Of course, "capitalist citizenship" is a thought at fatuous with Socialism; it is of a piece with the proposition from the same quarter, introduced at Amsterdam and pronouncing against "inferior races," but howled down there. The plank, however, goes a step further. "Inferior," or "superior" races, none shall work on the St. Louis city railways, who is not a "citizen," besides a resident of at least one year. The bare thought ruptures the solidarity of Labor; it is the spawn of bourgeois conceptions; it is to Socialism what Hell is to Paradise. What, according to the test under consideration, must be found as the controlling and inspiring material foundation for such "ideality"? Nothing but a system of economic organization that mimics capitalism, and that is all the more obscene because of its being an imitation. Does the test stand the test? To perfection. The material basis for, or economic organization of which the St. Louis so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party municipal platform is the political whiff—is the Gompers misnomer of A. F. of L. "Unionism."

The test will be found true wherever applied, and the opportunities to apply it are not a few. Conspicuous, latest and mutually supplementary opportunities were offered in May and in July of last year when the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party met in national convention, adopted a political declaration redolent of bourgeois single-taxism, and, obedient to the labor lieutenants of capitalism at that national convention, shielded the Gompers monstrosity from harm, while two months later the Socialist Labor Party, in national convention assembled, adopted a platform that was the political reflex of the bona fide Trades Union system of economic organization, upon which it rests, and whose principles it boldly declared.

ATTENTION!

Wage workers residing in Greater New York and vicinity, desiring information about the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance can get same by writing to the organizer of D. A. 49, L. M. Wieder, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

Section Calendar

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

New York County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Kings County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn.

General Committee—First Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and a free reading room, 850 Market street Room 40. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Chicago, Ill., S. L. P.—Section Headquarters, 48 West Randolph street. Business meetings 2d and 4th Friday of each month.

Section Toronto, Can., S. L. P. meets in Room 3, Richmond Hall, Richmond street W., every second and fourth Wednesdays. Workingmen cordially invited.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 8 p. m. at 307½ Pine Street Room 6.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open every evening. All workingmen invited. Business meetings every Tuesday.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8.00 p. m. 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

Meetings (each month) first and third Tuesday night, at 29½ South Del. street, third floor, Indianapolis, Ind.

Detroit, Mich., "Socialist Labor Auxiliary" Reading Room, room 10 avenue Theatre Bldg., Woodward avenue. Open every evening, Sunday all day. Discussion upon interesting topics every Sunday evening. All are welcome.

KINGS CO. TO ENJOY ITSELF.

Entertainment and reception, under the auspices of Section Kings County, S. L. P., to be held at the Socialist Labor Club rooms, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn, on Washington's Birthday eve, Tuesday, February 21.

The following talent will appear: The Zeller troupe, Miss Norma Sauter, violinist, and others.

Tickets, 15 cents.

The Committee.

ALAMEDA CO., CAL., ATTENTION.

Socialist Labor Party members-at-large and sympathizers of Alameda County, Cal., are called upon to meet at C. A. Johnson's home, 2131 Peralta street, Oakland, Cal., on Sunday, February 26, at 10.30 A. M. The formation of an S. L. P. section will be discussed, and a temporary organization created. Plans to aid Organized Bohn's work in this vicinity will also be made. Note time and place. Be sure to attend!

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS,
An Old and Well-Tried Remedy.
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP
has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS of SUFFERERS throughout the world. IT CURES COLIC, SOOTHES THE GUMS, ALLAYS ALL PAIN, CURES WIND COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHOEA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP, AND TAKE NO OTHER KIND.
Twenty-Five Cents a Bottle.

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ON

Sunday, March 19, 1905.

3 P. M., at

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE

Lexington Avenue, Between 43rd and 44th streets, New York.

Vaudeville to follow Concert.

Ball at 8 P. M.

Ticket admitting one 25c. Hat Check 10c.

The Paris Commune

By Karl Marx, with the elaborate introduction of Frederick Engels. It includes the First and Second manifestos of the International Workingmen's Association, the Civil War in France and the Anti-Plébiscite Manifesto. Near his close of the Civil War in France, turning from history to forecast the future, Marx says:

"After Whit-Sunday, 1871, there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the Workingmen of France and the appropriators of their produce. The iron hand of a mercenary soldiery may keep for a time both classes tied down in common oppression. But the battle must break out in ever growing dimensions, and there can be no doubt as to who will be the victor in the end—the appropriating few, or the immense working majority. And the French working class is only the vanguard of the modern proletariat."



Price,
50 Cents.

New York Labor News Co.

2, 4 & 6 New Reade Street,

New York City.